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The Commemoration Day Address

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"Let no man seek his own,
but each his neighbour's good." 1 Cor. x, 24.

I do not intend to develop what I have to say to you today from a text, but, as a text, I may take these words which I have read from the First Epistle to the Corinthians as expressive of the spirit which animated the founders of our College and the spirit which it should be our desire to cherish now.

We are met today to commemorate those who founded the College and their successors who developed it and made it what it is today. We are also met to seek Divine grace to enable us to carry on the work of the College so that by our life here and in the world beyond its walls, we may promote the great ends which those who founded the College, and those who developed it, had in view.

In so meeting, the whole College has assembled—both professors and students. It may be said that this is a professor's affair—that it is the professors and the other members of the teaching staff who are the successors of those who founded and developed the College. In a sense, this is true, and the commemoration service comes to them with a special appeal. But it is also true that the students of the College have in the past had their part in its development, and I am confident that the present students are animated by a sense of loyalty—and, indeed, of devotion—to the College, which makes them desire to play the same part now.

It is true of every College that it is the product of the joint efforts of teachers and taught, but it is true to an exceptional degree of our College. It exists because of mutual good-will. There is the good-will of those of us who come from countries in the West, and the people there who have sent us. There is the good-will also, which you, the students of the College, and the people of India whom you represent cherish towards us.

This spirit of good-will animates the whole life of the College. It impels us to seek to co-operate with one another in all its activities. It develops a feeling of pride in the College which makes us eager to uphold its good name and increase

its reputation in every direction. Sometimes, indeed, this spirit, which is on the whole so laudable, may carry us beyond the bounds of what is reasonable and fair. At least, I can recall occasions in former years when rivalry with other Colleges in the football or hockey field has led to regrettable incidents, or at any rate to incidents which appeared to some to be regrettable. In such incidents, the error leant to virtue's side, but it was none the less an error. We must ever remember that it is just as important to maintain the good name of the College by taking a defeat in a manly way as by winning a match.

It is an essential part of the discipline of character which is obtained in playing games that we should be able to play well a losing game. This means not only taking a defeat gracefully if it should be a defeat, but playing the losing game hopefully—determined to win if you can, but in any case to play as well as possible right to the end. I can never forget a game of tennis in which two professors of the College took part many years ago, in which the score reached 5, love against them. A hopeless game, do you say? They won the next game, and the next, and the next, until finally they won the set by 7 to 5. There was, of course, a reason for this. The professors were handicapped during the first part of the game by having the sun in their eyes. After 5 games the sun set and the handicap no longer existed. Still it was a striking illustration of the fact that you should never say that a game is lost till it is finished. Win the game if you can, but, whether you win or lose, play the game hopefully and you will get the best out of it. Robert Louis Stevenson says somewhere—" To travel hopefully is better than to arrive." I suppose that this is a paradoxical way of laying emphasis on the desirability of cherishing a spirit of hopefulness.

This is true not only of games and of travel but of all that we undertake. And if we are to have a spirit of hopefulness, how better can we get it than by seeking congenial comrades? How much the word 'comrade' suggests of good cheer and helpful fellowship!

Is it not as comrades that we are carrying on the work of the College? In Lord Kelvin's great address at the opening of the Bangor Laboratories, in which he describes the work of a University College and how it should be carried on, he says: " No professor should meet his class without talking to them. *He* should talk to *them* and *they* to *him*. The French call a lecture a *conference* and I admire the idea involved in that name. Every lecture should be a conference of teacher and students. It is the true ideal of a professional lecture. I have found that many students are afflicted when they come up to College with a disease called 'aphasia.' They will not answer when questioned, even when the very words of the answer are put in their mouths, or when the answer is simply 'yes' or 'no.' That disease wears off in a few weeks, but the great cure for it is in repeated and careful and very free interchange of question and answer between teacher and student. Professors and students must speak to one another."

The disease of which Lord Kelvin speaks does not trouble us much here. There is, on the contrary, a charming freedom of intercourse between professors and students which makes the work of our College classes of the nature of a conference, such as Lord Kelvin desires. This freedom of intercourse is to some

extent a feature of eastern life as distinguished from western. It is, however, so conspicuous a feature of this College that we must look for the reason of it in other causes than in racial characteristics. It appears to me, and I am sure you will agree with me, that it is to be found in the feeling of mutual trust which exists among us.

Lord Grey of Falloden said what was very memorable and helpful when reviewing the life of Lord Bertie who was British Ambassador at Paris during the War and for some time before it. It was recognised by all who were acquainted with the facts, that Lord Bertie's influence in the position which he occupied as the official representative of the British to the French, had done a great deal to establish the *Entente Cordiale*—the cordial understanding—between the two nations, and to maintain it during those trying periods which occurred from time to time during the war when the nervous strain was so great that misunderstandings were apt to arise which would imperil their friendship. Lord Grey says that some would ascribe Lord Bertie's influence to his tact, but it was really due to something better than tact. It was due to the feeling of trust which the French had in him. They knew that he was absolutely straight, and that he sympathised with them in their national aspirations. There was nothing of the wily diplomat about him. He was straightforward and sincere, and the French knew that he was their friend.

To inspire trust is a finer thing than to show tact, and I believe that the College occupies the position it does in the life of the country because of the feeling of trust which it has inspired. From the outset this was the case. The place which John Anderson gained in the life around him was due to the fact that the people of India recognised that it was a single-minded desire to do his best for them which inspired him to leave his country and make Madras his home. Sometimes there were trying periods in the history of the school he started, when relations became strained, as, for example, when he admitted some Pariah boys to the school, and on other occasions when young men sought by the rite of baptism to make a public profession of their faith in Jesus Christ. On such occasions the school was almost emptied, but soon it filled up again. People realised that John Anderson had no ulterior motive, but was animated solely by a desire for their welfare—seeking not his own good, but theirs. The Hall in which we are now assembled bears his name, as an abiding tribute to the esteem in which he was held.

John Anderson was certainly a man of whom we have reason to be proud as the founder of our College. He came from a part of Scotland which has contributed a great deal to the spiritual progress of the world and he was a worthy representative of it. It is a beautiful part of the country—the district of Dumfries and Galloway. I can speak with knowledge as I have frequently visited it during my furloughs. One of my most intimate school and college friends lives not far from Kilpatrick Durham where John Anderson was born one hundred and twenty years ago. But it is not of the beauty of this district that one would speak. One would rather recall that it is the country of that poet whose thrilling lines "A man's a man for a' that" have done so much to advance the cause of brotherhood throughout the world, and the country of that prophet whose stern denunciation of shams and praise of honest work, nerve the arm

and strengthen the heart of the man who responds to the call of duty. There are others, also, who have lived in John Anderson's country, who are more worthy of honour than even Burns and Carlyle—the Scottish Covenanters. These never-to-be-forgotten men and women have ennobled Scottish history by the record of their dauntless testimony—testifying even unto death to their faith in their Redeemer. They endured, as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews says of him who led the Israelites from the bondage of Egypt—they endured, as seeing Him who is invisible.

John Anderson was a fit representative of such people. He had the warm sympathy, the affectionate heart of the poet. He had the unflinching fidelity, the unhesitating courage of the prophet. He had the devotion to truth, the zeal for God's cause of the Covenanters. Let me recall a characteristic episode. His friend Robert Johnston arrived in Madras about the beginning of 1839 to join him in his work. This gave him the opportunity to initiate a project he had for some time been cherishing—*viz.*, to start a branch school at Conjeeveram. No sooner was the opportunity given him than he seized it, and although the hot weather was at its hottest he journeyed out to Conjeeveram by road and opened the school on the 29th of May. An ordinary man, would, I think, have said to himself—Let me wait till the hot weather is past before I go out to Conjeeveram to start this school. Not so John Anderson. The opportunity had come and he would not delay. The road from Madras to Conjeeveram has been made forever famous by the heroic march of Clive and his soldiers through the rain. Let us also recall with pride John Anderson's journey along that road in the heat of May. In a letter to Mr. Johnston which his biographer reproduces, he writes on the 1st of June—"I began on Wednesday last with eleven, including our own boys (four monitors who had accompanied him from Madras) and expect an increase on Monday. I met with every encouragement from Mr. Freese and Mr. Maclean (evidently officials) ; but, as I anticipated, they have been able to do but little ; however, they did what they could, and their countenance is something, should the thing succeed. The feast is now nearly over ; and this will enable me to judge better whether we are likely to prosper. I could never have got on without my youths ; they are all staunch and true, and none of them has lost heart." No wonder they were staunch and true when they had such a leader. And if he won their fidelity by his eager spirit and devotion to duty, he grappled them to his soul with hoops of steel by the tenderness of his affection. I should like to read just a sentence or two from a letter John Anderson sent to one of them some time later when he had gone with another to visit a branch school.

"My beloved faithful Raj,—My heart followed you and Venka, and every one of our sons with you. At the great day of accounts, I think you will all see that you had a father who loved your souls more than anything else in this world and who sought your highest good in this world and the next. . . . . The letter ends—Give my kindest regards to Rungasawmy and all the teachers and much love to all my sons—Your affectionate father, John Anderson."

One can realise how the spirit of such a warm-hearted man would revolt against the customs associated with caste. At the very outset he took a firm stand

against it, as you know, by admitting Pariah boys to the school. And not the least of his services to India was the firm stand he took against these customs as they prevailed in his time in the Christian Church. Lord Macaulay, who was a contemporary of John Anderson's, has written of these customs as he found them when passing through South India on his way to the Nilgiris, and as we read his description of what he found, and his scathing denunciation of it, our cheeks burn with shame to think that such things could be possible among people calling themselves Christians. John Anderson, however, did something better than denounce caste as he found it in the Christian Church. A familiar fable tells us of the contest between the wind and the sun to get a man to take off his cloak. The wind blew upon him, but the more it blew the more tightly did the man fold his cloak about him. Then the sun shone upon him, and by its genial warmth it induced the man to take his cloak off. John Anderson's method of dealing with the evil was the method of the sun. He welcomed all to his home without distinction of caste and showed them the most generous hospitality. By the spirit of friendship which he thus promoted he did a great deal to break down the barriers to brotherly intercourse which caste sets up. Lord Macaulay could not speak of the church in Madras as he spoke of the church in another part of India, and the attitude of the church in Madras towards this vital question of caste had a wide-spread influence in purifying the Church elsewhere, and delivering it from this scandal. It was a critical time in the history of the Church in South India, and it is with reason we claim that John Anderson played a part of prime importance by showing in his daily life what the attitude of the Christian should be with reference to this fundamental issue in life and conduct.

When recalling John Anderson to your minds, as I have done this morning, I ought not to omit to speak of Robert Johnston and John Braidwood also. Their portraits hang together upstairs in the Council room and it is fitting that they should do so, for they were loyal and devoted colleagues. Robert Johnston came from the same part of Scotland as John Anderson. Indeed they had been intimate friends long before they came to Madras. As a student Johnston had gained a distinguished place being first of his year in Greek and in Madras his talents found a fitting outlet. It is appropriate that his memory is preserved for us by a scholarship and medal, the money for them being collected by his former students. John Braidwood's chief title for regard is to be found in his book "True Yokefellows"—a book with a beautiful title and a no less beautiful narrative in which he tells the story of the life and work of Anderson and Johnston. You will, I am sure, allow me to add that it should not be forgotten that Braidwood came out to Anderson's school as a teacher of science. Thus early did our College seek to give an education in which the study of science should have its place as well as the older studies of literature and philosophy.

Of Dr. Miller I shall not speak this morning except to commend once again to your notice the brief but admirable biography which has been written by Rao Bahadur O. Kandaswamy Chetty. You must often have heard your elders speak of Dr. Miller and you must have envied them the privilege they had of coming under his influence. Much of that influence you can still enjoy by reading the account of

his life given by Mr. Kandaswamy Chetty. He has made us all his debtors by writing it. His great hero lives again in his vivid narrative.

As John Anderson was happy in having like-minded colleagues, so also was Dr. Miller. Of only one of them shall I speak this morning. The tragic death of Mr. Leith, so suddenly depriving us of a dear friend and a trusted leader in all movements for the promotion of the social welfare of the community, has brought the Kellett Institute very much into our thoughts during the past days. That Institute commemorates one whose memory I hope will long remain a power for good among us. Mr. Kellett was a remarkable man. He had, to begin with, an exceptionally distinguished career as a student. Starting off by being first in the London Matriculation—a feat which calls for exceptional diligence and versatility—he maintained the promise of his school days by taking a double First at Cambridge and being elected a Fellow of his College. Coming out to Madras as a representative of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, he threw himself heart and soul into the work of our College. It was a congenial sphere and in it he found scope for all his talents. Distinguished as an athlete, as well as a scholar, his influence told for good throughout the whole life of the College. He lived at Kobe Lodge in Royapettah and his home was like that of John Anderson's—a centre of gracious hospitality. The other day a former student remarked to me that he had learned even more at Kobe Lodge than he had done at College. Mr. Kellett went home on furlough in 1904, and died of fever contracted in Madras. On his deathbed he was delirious and appeared to be speaking to some one. Those who were watching beside him leant over to hear what he was saying and caught the words "O Jesus, I have tried." As he passed away he was talking to his Lord and unconsciously revealed the secret of his life—"O Jesus, I have tried."

To all of us the call of Christ comes to live such lives as those of John Anderson, William Miller and F. W. Kellett. We may not have the talents which they had, but to all of us the call comes to use such talents as we have in the service of him who gave them to us. The power to serve God is entrusted to all of us and the love of Him will enable us to find the greatest happiness in His service. Happiness, such as the world gives, may fly away, pleasure may pall or cease to be attainable, money may be lost and fame prove a bubble reputation, but the power to serve God never fails and the love of Him is never rejected. He who has lost his life for Christ's sake, the same shall find it; the poor failure of earth shall become the high success of heaven, and to the good, true man, whether he has served God amid applause or amid persecution, in success or in failure, it shall be a reward beyond all rewards to hear at last a voice which he knows, a voice which shall thrill to his inmost soul, even the voice of Jesus, saying to him: "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

The Goal of the Eugenists

By M. S. Sabhesan, M.A.

Eugenists are persons who are keen on improving the racial quality of the human being. It is the sphere of Eugenics to determine the different factors that influence the racial quality of the human type with a view to breed a better type. The problem of 'breeding a better type' of human beings has been a practical question ever since *The Origin of Species* was published by Charles Darwin. The question is often raised whether man, who has succeeded in producing improved types of lower animals and plants, cannot improve his own type. Francis Galton, the cousin of Darwin, was deeply interested in the problem of the improvement of the human type and he founded the Eugenics Education Society with the object of gathering data. He laid down a programme for the Eugenists which consisted in (1) educating the public with regard to the laws of heredity, (2) gathering figures regarding the birth rate among the different strata of the population, and (3) collecting information as to how large and thriving families have originated. Work along the lines indicated by Galton was continued in America also and the first International Eugenics Congress was held in London in 1912. About 800 delegates from the different parts of the world attended. A perusal of the family records collected by workers in America, such as the history of the notorious Juke family or that of the illustrious family of Jonathan Edwards will show that the problem before the eugenists is to do away with the racial contribution of the undesirable part of the population and to encourage the racial contribution of the desirable part.

This problem of breeding a better type is not so complicated among plants and lower animals. In their case natural selection which works by a differential death rate automatically rejects the unfit and serves to maintain the species in efficient condition. In the case of human society there are noticed two parallel developments from the 17th century onwards which have together, strangely enough, brought down the racial quality. On the one hand there is the development of altruistic feeling which modifies the influence of natural selection and makes it natural for us to permit the infirm, the sick and the anti-social to move about freely and also to breed. On the other hand there is the industrial development with the accompanying evils of abandonment of the farm, concentration of labour in cities, child labour, etc. The situation developed to such an alarming extent in the industrially advanced countries of Europe towards the end of 19th century as to call forth a loud protest from the eugenists and others interested in the welfare of society. Social workers and politicians placed in the forefront of their programme the question of 'better food,' 'better houses,' 'shorter hours,' 'higher wages,' 'insurance for workers,' 'free education,' etc. The need of the hour seemed to be the improvement of the surroundings or environment. When the results failed to

come up to their expectation, the assumptions on which the eugenists had been proceeding came to be re-examined.

There are two chief assumptions on which the activities of the eugenist rest : (1) that environment can produce a more or less lasting change or modification in the body of the individual ; (2) that any modification so induced by the environment in the body of the parent can be transmitted to the off-spring.

I. *As to the environment*, what an individual is, is determined by (1) heredity, (2) physical environment, and (3) training or culture. It is not easy to determine by sight the different degrees to which the individual can be influenced by one or other of these factors. For convenience, physical environment and culture can be put together under nurture. All will be willing to concede that heredity plays a great part in the moulding of the individual. There is a difference of opinion, however, regarding the importance that can be assigned to nurture. One section believes that environment can influence the features of the individual, and cites as an instance the tanning of the skin of white men living under tropical conditions. The other section holds that nurture can exercise very little influence. This opinion is based on data gathered from the school room and from the history of the aristocracy. The pupils of a class score differently though they have been taught by the same teacher and they have been equally industrious The members of the aristocratic and royal families who may be expected to enjoy the most favourable conditions for training, are not particularly brilliant, and talent seems to be independent of training or environment. A more scientific study of this question is necessary.

Evidence : Coefficient of Correlation.—(a) Attempts have been made to compare individuals with regard to physical or mental characters of a measurable nature, and to express the degree of resemblance in decimal fractions between 0 and 1. This fraction is called the coefficient of correlation. Zero indicates the absence of resemblance. The same procedure has been applied with regard to the relation between the environment and physical or mental characters. When individuals of a family were compared with regard to various physical characteristics, the coefficient of correlation was ·5, showing that heredity contributed on the average approximately one-half. Short-sightedness among school pupils was studied in its relation to environment. Short-sightedness among children has been ascribed to different factors by different men, to long hours of study, to overcrowding, to the early age at which the study was begun, etc. When the relation between short-sightedness and one or other of these external conditions was studied, the coefficient of correlation amounted on the average to ·04. There is not even a suspicion that environment has brought about short-sightedness.

Intelligence Tests.—(b) The 'Intelligence tests' conducted by Prof. Terman and other workers also furnish proof that talent does not depend upon training to any appreciable extent, and that equal training will increase the difference between the intelligent and the dull still further.

Twins.—(c) Still more valuable and interesting is the evidence from observations on 'Twins' made by Galton. Twins are, according to Galton, of two classes : (1) 'identical twins' that arise from the division of one fertilised ovum ; and

(2) 'ordinary twins' that are derived from two ova in the womb of the mother. Identical twins show such a close degree of resemblance that they can only be distinguished one from the other by devices such as tying ribbons to the waist. Ordinary twins show the same degree of resemblance as can be ordinarily noticed among brothers or sisters. Galton wanted to find out whether identical twins starting alike happen to differ remarkably when they set out on different walks of like in different conditions. Also he wanted to know whether ordinary twins tended to resemble one another more closely when they were brought up under identical conditions. Galton's conclusion is that nature prevails enormously over nurture.

Heredity and environment in the wide sense.—Evidence from all sources points to the dominating influence that heredity is exercising in respect of the development of the individual. But the environment cannot be considered as of no account. Though its direct influence may not be great, experiments show that in the absence of a suitable environment, heredity may fail to express itself. It is not possible to breed greatness out of bad material but good heredity will be wasted like seed sown on rock for lack of a favourable environment.

II.—*Inheritance of Acquired Characters.*—Let it be assumed that environment can produce a more or less lasting modification in the body of the individual. The question arises whether this modification induced in the body of the parent during its life-time by the environment can be transmitted to the off-spring. To ask this question is only to raise once again the much debated question of the inheritance of acquired characteristics. A battle royal was fought over that question towards the latter half of 19th century. Herbert Spencer, Lamarck and others represent the school of thought that believed that acquired characteristics could be inherited. Much of the heat in this controversy could have been avoided if what was meant by the term 'acquired character' had been clearly defined. This term was used in different senses. August Weissmann, the illustrious German biologist, challenged the supporters of the theory to produce one clear case of inheritance of acquired characters.

Theories on the mode of transmission.—It is necessary to refer in this connection to the theories put forward regarding the mode of transmission of characters in general. Charles Darwin sought to explain the resemblance between the parents and off-spring by assuming that every part of the body sent out a particle or 'gemmule,' and these 'gemmules' were aggregated in the germ-cells like the delegates in a parliament. This hypothesis, known as the theory of pangenesis, has not met with any support, and it is not easy to show that gemmules are produced from every part. Weissmann patiently worked at the problem and carefully observed the stages of development from the fertilised ovum. He sought to prove that even in the first division of the fertilised ovum, the original germ substance was set apart unaltered, and that this germ substance or germ plasm did not take any part in the complex differentiation of the other part into the body. It was his idea that the body, far from producing germ cells, was itself the product of the germ cell, and that the body simply acted as the vehicle for the germ plasm. He explained that the germ plasm formed a continuous stream which received fresh contributions

from every act of fertilisation. It seemed natural to him that members of a family should resemble one another because they get their contributions from the general stream. This view of Weissmann implies that germ plasm is continuous and immortal. It follows that what is in the germ cell can alone be transmitted. The idea of inheritance of acquired characters *i.e.* of modifications in the body induced by the environment is untenable according to this theory.

Cases of inherited acquired characters.—Weissmann examined all cases of alleged inheritance of acquired characters with great care. Many cases were brought to his notice by medical men. All these facts can be arranged under four heads: (1) mutilation, (2) disease transmission, (3) results of use, and (4) physico chêmical stimulation such as poisons, narcotics, temperature, etc. Mutilation of a part of the body even when effected at an early stage is not transmissible. Noses and ears of men and women have been pierced for generations and yet the mutilated condition is not transmitted. Weissmann carried on experiments with mice and showed that the removal of the tail, generation after generation, even at a very early stage was not attended with the loss of the tail in the succeeding generations. Some of the diseases which were considered to be transmitted were due to pathogenic bacteria as in the case of tuberculosis, and the apparent transmission was explained as the result of uterine infection. With regard to other diseases it was held that what was inherited was not the disease itself but a certain predisposition to that disease owing to a deficiency in the germ plasm. As for the results of use, the fact has only to be stated that every child has to learn the alphabet anew, and that human beings of every generation, instead of standing over the shoulder of the previous generation with regard to accomplishments, have to begin and to proceed step by step like the previous generation. Poisons and other chemical substances can no doubt bring about changes or deformities in the fertilised ovum but the occurrence of such changes is no proof that these are transmitted. Weissmann proved to the satisfaction of biologists that acquired characters could not be transmitted. His theory of germ plasm assigns to the germ plasm a unique position, and so long as the germ plasm is unaffected, any change in the body cannot be transmitted. This important position assigned to the germ plasm by Weissmann is further strengthened by the series of interesting experiments on breeding carried on by Mendel and other workers.

Eugenics and Euthenics.—That heredity is the dominant factor in the development of the individual admits of no doubt. It is equally true that environment cannot be ignored since a proper control of environment can modify the expression of hereditary tendencies. Thus predisposition to a disease can be checked by the control of the environment. Though the dull boy cannot be made a genius through training, still training facilitates normal development. The problem of the improvement of the race has to be approached from two aspects, the primary or germinal aspect, the aspect of Eugenics, and from the secondary or nurtural aspect, the aspect of Euthenics. Reforms which are calculated to improve the environment alone cannot go far in the matter of improvement of the race, nor can heredity hope to leave out environment altogether. The eugenist and euthenist are both of them

interested in the betterment of the race and they can achieve their end only by co-operation with one another. Reforms along the line of Euthenics have taken the form of free education, equal opportunity for advancement, better food, better housing, etc. Reforms along the line of Eugenics have taken the form of birth control, encouragement of persons with good heredity to marry and live comfortably free from financial perplexities, segregation of the anti-social, etc. The reforms which the eugenist and euthenist desire to be carried out in the interest of the permanent improvement of human society are sometimes unfavourably received. Civilised man is the victim of several meaningless conventions. Eugenists have come to realise that they should educate the public with regard to the laws of heredity and the influence of environment, and create a strong public opinion, before they can expect a reasonable measure of success.

Temporal Taboos in South India

By Y. Balaram

Taboo is, typically, magic in its negative form. Magic arose out of the endeavours of primitive man to control his environment and gain his ends by occult means, while taboo was the outcome of his seeking to avoid doing certain things lest certain untoward consequences should ensue. Hence it has been said that magic and taboo are the positive and negative sides of the same mental attitude. Apart from this element of occultism in it, taboo is associated with custom. Custom may owe its origin to any cause—to habit, convention, prejudice, predisposition, needs, etc. It must be remembered that morality in the primitive stages of human society was customary, and when custom has not the backing of authority, it may have to struggle long for its very existence. It is in the enforcement of custom at such stages that taboo had an important part to play. Extending its veto into every department of primitive life, it prohibited the use of certain articles of food, raiment, etc., held sacred certain things, places and important persons and laid restrictions on various actions in their special and temporal relations.

A Polynesean word, "taboo" implies "keeping sacred" as one of the meanings of its concept. Further there is here indicated a close connection between the sacred and the accursed, because profaning the sacred is accursed. The ramifications of taboo are very great, but there are certain important interests of life which they touch more frequently. There are taboos of sex, of priests, of royal persons, of certain sacred areas or objects, funerary taboos and temporal taboos. It is with the last of these, as observed in South India, that we are here most immediately concerned.

"Primitive man had no scientific apparatus for building up an explanation of success and failure. He believed in luck which he often connected with unseen powers that produced good or evil." In ancient India the grim *adhrishta* (literally, 'that which cannot be seen') was a potent factor in life and in natural phenomena. Now, since good or bad luck may befall the whole tribe or group and not merely the individual, "the group was interested in controlling the individual's conduct for the sake of ensuring its own welfare." Hence, we should think, arose the taboos of time which prohibit certain actions at specified times such as *Rahu Kala*, etc. Under the self-revealing influence of education they are now gradually failing to exert their original imperative force.

The Hindus, as a rule observe certain temporal prohibitions on days, weeks or hours. Auspicious affairs must never be carried out in these tabooed periods, nor should a person commence any projected business during such times. If one violates this prohibition one is sure to meet with failure, disappointment, danger, quarrels or other such unpleasant consequences. We will now look into the chief varieties of these temporal taboos one by one.

Rāhu Kāla.—An hour and a half on every day in the week is set apart as *Rahu Kala.* On Sundays it extends from 4-30 p m. to 6 p.m.; on Mondays from 7-30 a.m. to 9 a m.; on Tuesdays, from 3 p.m to 4-30 p.m.; on Wednesdays, from ·12 noon to 1-30 p.m.; on Thursdays, from 1-30 p.m. to 3 p.m.; on Fridays, from 10-30 a.m. to 12 noon, and on Saturdays, from 9 a.m. to 10-30 a.m. There are no *Rahu Kala* hours (fortunately ?) in the nights. Students of South India even to-day do not pay their University or other examination fees during *Rahu Kala.* In short, the *Rahu Kala* is a tabooed period of time for doing anything useful, important or auspicious. One should not start on a journey, one cannot purchase any valuables, one cannot commence an auspicious work, or take medicine, nor should a corpse be taken to the cremation ground during, *Rahu Kala.* All in all, there are a good many things that one cannot do during *Rahu Kala.* If every one of these restrictions is to be strictly observed, 'life' will lose the richer part of its connotation. We mean the word 'life' which implies 'activity,' as well as life itself that is lived, which is nothing if it is destitute of activity.

'*Rahu Kala*' literally means the period of Rahu. Of the nine planets (grahas) of Hindu astronomy, Rahu is one. A dragon, Rahu is represented in Hindu mythology as being an inveterate enemy of the Sun and Moon. The solar and lunar eclipses are attributed to him. He is said on one occasion to have obtained a boon from Brahma (the 'Creator' of the Hindu Trinity) that an hour and a half should be set apart daily for his own sweet free will. We are unable to ascertain as to what the exact circumstances were under which this boon was secured. Certain it is that while Rahu is working his will, mortals should not set about any work or execute any auspicious undertaking until the hour and half is entirely over. Within that period he is said to be privileged to work any mischief that his fancy suggests. It is held inadvisable, therefore, for us to do anything worthwhile during such a time lest our proceedings should be influenced by that mischievous planet-being. We must add that *Rahu Kala* is the most commonly known of the varieties of temporal taboos.

Gulikai Kala.—Just as one cannot perform any auspicious action during *Rahu Kala*, inauspicious or bad *(asubha)* work must not be turned out during the *Gulikai Kala.* We are told that the Malayalis regard *Gulikan* as a tenth planet and that the *Gulikai Kala* is the period of Gulikan's influence on the affairs of the earth. Funeral rites or other inauspicious kinds of work should not be performed during *Gulikai Kala*, the hours of which are specified in the almanacs thus :—

Sunday	3 to 4-30 p.m.
Monday	1-30 to 3 p.m.
Tuesday ... ..., ...	12 noon to 1-30 p.m.
Wednesday	10-30 a.m. to 12 noon.
Thursday	9 to 10-30 a.m.
Friday	7-30 to 9 a.m.
Saturday	6 to 7-30 a.m.

Here, again, we notice that the period is an hour and a half, and it is interesting to see that Rahu and Gulikai never overlap. If a person is dead, the body

cannot be removed for cremation while *Rahu* or *Gulikai Kala* lasts. It is curious that death-ceremonies should wait for *Rahu Kala* to elapse. Perhaps it is avoided lest the departed spirit should fail to attain salvation if the dead body be cremated during Rahu's period.

Yama Ganda[1].—Yama is the God of Death who is supposed to ride on a he-buffalo. On every day in the week he has certain regularly specified hours (again $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours, during which he is believed to be wandering over the earth. If therefore one were to go on a journey or undertake an important business during *Yama Ganda*, unpleasant consequences (not excluding death) are sure the ensue. The hours of *Yama Ganda* run as follows :—

Sunday	12 noon to 1-30 p.m.
Monday	10-30 a.m. to 12 noon.
Tuesday	9 to 10-30 a.m.
Wednesday	7-30 to 9 a.m.
Thursday	6 to 7-30 a.m.
Friday	3 to 4-30 p m.
Saturday	1-30 to 3 p.m.

In the Tamil almanac *Yama Ganda* hours for the night are also added to the above. It is said that most of the Hindus to-day do not observe the *Yama Ganda* for all the days in the week, but only that for Thursday (6 to 7-30 a. m.) Some people do not seem to take into account these specified hours at all ; they think that *Yama Ganda* is obtained for every day by calculations based on the current year, month, day, etc.

Another variety of this kind of time-taboos is called *Kalanemi*. This also extends for an hour and a half every day in the week :—

Sunday	6 to 7-30 a.m.
Monday	3 to 4-30 p.m.
Tuesday	1-30 to 3 p.m.
Wednesday	12 noon to 1-30 p.m.
Thursday	10-30 to 12 noon.
Friday	9 to 10-30 a.m.
Saturday	7-30 to 9 a m.

'Kalan' is another name for 'Yama' and these hours seem to constitute the privileged time of that fiendish deity. It must be added that *Kalanemi* is very rarely observed.

Equally little observed is the *Arthaprakarana*, which ranges thus :—

Sunday	10-30 to 12 noon.
Monday	9 to 10-30 a.m.
Tuesday	7-30 to 9 a.m.
Wednesday	6 to 7-30 a.m.
Thursday	3 to 4-30 p.m.
Friday	1-30 to 3 p.m.
Saturday	12 noon to 1-30 p.m.

[1] *Ganda* literally means a 'crisis' So it has here the connotation of a dangerous period of time.

Of these one and a half hour varieties in the temporal taboos of South India, *Rahu Kala* is to-day the most widely known and observed. *Gulika Kala* is taken to account generally on funeral occasions only. *Yama Ganda* is reckoned with on Thursdays or not at all. *Kalanemi* and *Arthaprakarana* are very little known, not to speak of observance. In so far as the periods of Rahu, Gulika, Yama, etc., recur every day regularly they may be regarded as being due to the rotation of certain astrological constellations which are believed to exert their influences during their times on the inhabitants of the earth. Indeed, the astral science *(jyothis-sasthra)* as studied in India is said to have three branches—astronomy, horoscopy and *muhurtha* or the theory of auspicious time.

Vara Soola.—'Soola' is the Sanskrit word for a spear or trident. It is supposed that on every day in the week the trident of the Goddess Kali (or, as others say, of Siva), will be pointed towards the earth from one or another of the cardinal points. For each day in the week one of the four cardinal points is taboo for journeying towards it. "Sunday and Friday towards the west till 12 naligas,[1] Monday and Saturday towards the east till 8 naligas, Tuesday and Wednesday towards the north till 12 and 16 naligas respectively and Thursday towards the south till 20 naligas"—on these days one should not travel towards the specified directions, at all, if one can help it, but, out of dire necessity one can do so after the complete expiry of these said periods. Violation, it is needless to repeat, is considered to result in failure or disappointment or accidents.[2]

Karinal days occur three or four or five times in each month. During these Karinals (literally, bad days) and on the previous nights it is held inauspicious to begin any work. These days (they have no specified hours, not being a *kala* or period) seem to be worked out for each year. In fixing auspicious days for journeying or any other *subha-karyam* (auspicious functions) a *karinal* is carefully avoided. It is curious to find that Pongal is a *karinal*. From this it will be seen that even certain festival days are taboo for auspicious undertakings, and that there are also fixed *karinal* days. In the village parts it seems that people are prohibited from moving out beyond certain prescribed limits.

Thyajya.—This is another kind of the calculated taboos. The *thyajya* period for the day is taboo for attempting auspicious things. Since some individuals used to resort to this taboo as an excuse for postponing or neglecting certain actions, there had sprung up among the Telugu-speaking people a proverb which being interpreted tells us that the liar has *thyajya* standing in the way of his ever getting married. Even on selected auspicious days for marriages or the like (*muhurtha dhina*) there occur *thyajya* periods which are therefore avoided in such a manner that the tabooed hour or hours either precede or follow the auspicious time (*muhurtha kala*).

Yoga.—There are five Yogas and of these two are good and the other three are bad. The *Amritha* and *Siddha* Yogas are auspicious while the *Uthpatha*, *Mrithyu* or *Marana* and *Prabhalanishta* Yogas are inauspicious. Generally, only

[1] One hour equals 2½ naligas; and one is to calculate from sunrise.

[2] Compare also *Yogini*, below.

the *Amritha*, *Siddha* and *Marana* are the recognized Yogas.[1] The *Yoga* is not universally determined for all persons. It depends upon one's particular birth-star or *janma nakshathra*. Thus every day in the week may be auspicious or not according to the person's star for whom the question arises, generally the question of the advisability of journeying on a particular day in the week. Sundays, Mondays and Tuesdays are unlucky for a person with 'Visaka' as the star while these three days are quite good for another with 'Rohini.' Of the twenty seven stars of Hindu astrology 'Punarvasu', 'Pubba' and Swathi' seem to be the most lucky ones, for all the seven days in the week are good for a person born under that star. If a certain day be found to show 'Marana Yoga' for a particular *nakshathra*, and if a person born under such a star is to travel on that day, he is believed to meet with dangers, and positively death.

Bad Thidhis.—The lunar month is made up of two halves of 15 days (*paksha*) one from the new to the full moon and the other from the full to the new. The former is called *Suddha* or *Krishna paksha* (the dark half) and the latter *Bahula* or *Sukla* (bright half) thus there are 15 days or *thidhi*[2] for each fortnight. Marriages and the like will not be arranged so as to fall on such a *thidhi* as *Sukla Pradhama*, *Chathurthi*, *Shasti*, *Ashtami*, *Navami*, *Dwadasi*,[3] full and new moons. These are generally unlucky Thidhis, and there are differences in the goodness or badness of a *thidhi* according as it falls in the *Sukla* or *Krishna paksha* *Ashtami* and *Navami* are considered very bad especially for journeying. So is new moon for auspicious undertakings. A man who is born on a new moon day is supposed will turn out a thief in his life. And a woman with a new moon as her birth day is supposed to live an immoral life. *Thidhi* times play a part even in death. There are thidhis whereon one may die "for a better life", and thidhis which waft the departed spirit into Hades. If any one happens to pass away on a tabooed *thidhi*, there are many rituals and ceremonies of a special expiatory nature to be performed for the disembodied soul.

Bad Week Days.—Sundays, Tuesdays, and Saturdays are taboo for marriages, though Sundays are sometimes allowed. It is perhaps one of the ironies of custom that Tuesday or *Mangala vara* (literally, auspicious day) has been tabooed for auspicious works! Sundays are supposed to be "difficulty-producing" days, Tuesdays "fire or dacoity or fever producing" days and Saturdays are "disease-producing" days. These week days are extremely bad if a bad *thidhi* happens to occur simultaneously with them. For example a Saturday with *navami* as its *thidhi* is very bad for travelling even under extremely necessary conditions.

Bad Stars.—We have already said that there are 27 stars according to Hindu astrology. Of these ten are the best (*Utthama*), and three are of average preferability (*madhyama*). The rest are positively, bad (*Adahma*). These stars are con-

[1] Amritha signifies nectar, Siddha means victory or winning one's end, and Marana is death.

[2] These are *pradhama*, *dwithiya*, *thrithiya*, *chathurthi*, *panchami*. *sashti*, *sapthami*, *ashtami*, *navami*, *ekadasi*, *dwadasi*, *thrayodasi*, *chathurdasi*, (which mean 1st and 2nd up to 14th day) new or full moon, the fifteenth. (*Amavasya* or *Pournima*).

[3] These are the first day in the bright half, the fourth, sixth, eighth, ninth and eleventh days.

stantly and invariably recurring once in the month ; every day is one of these, and they go on recurring in turn. Days with a bad star are avoided for good works. Each individual has his own star, being born under that one which was predominent on his birth day. This star is called 'janmanakshathra' and it is taboo. That is, for auspicious functions in connection with oneself the star of the day selected must never be identical with that of one's birth. Bad stars are also bad for death. There are two stars of the 27, on which star days if any one dies, the house must be vacated for two full months ; two others require five months' vacation, and five more, six months' vacation. Modern civilisation has learned to confine the "vacation" to the death-room alone and does not keep the whole house under a ban as of yore. That room is locked up for the required number of months and no one should enter into it until, on the expiry of the interdicted period, the room is "purified" by means of rituals and ceremonies.

Moudya.—For the planet Jupiter 30 days and for Venus, 70 and 9 days eastward and westward after their respective setting,—these periods are said to be *moudya.* This term indicates that the planets are non-existent, that is, not visible. In fact during these days they are over our heads in the day time. The inauspiciousness of *moudya* is based upon the invisibility of these planets. When we see no similar fault in the absence of the sun, and do perform during nights certain auspicious acts, writes a critic, there is no sensible foundation for the prohibition under this head. With 'moudya' goes what is called the 'Venus Afront'. Jupiter and Venus are supposed to be Brahmins, and of these the latter is regarded as being one-eyed. It has therefore been inferred, on the standard of omens, that the appearance of this Brahmin with one eye is ill-omened. Hence one is prohibited from moving into a house as its tenant with one's face confronting Venus. A person can shift to a house the gate whereof faces the planet itself for the time, for on entering it the person will not be facing the rising Venus. Also, good or evil are ascribed to journies to the right or left of Venus. *Guru* and *Sukra* are the Sanskrit names for Jupiter and Venus respectively.

Bad Months.—The Sanskrit months for a year are the following :—
(1) *Chaithra*, (2) *Vaisāka*, (3) *Jyēshta*, (4) *Ashāda*, (5) *Srāvana*, (6) *Bhādrapada*, (7) *Aswīyūja*, (8) *Kārthika*, (9) *Mārgasīrshya*, (10) *Pūshya*, (11) *Mākha* and (12) *Pālguna*. Of these 1, 2, 3, 11 and 12 are the best for weddings or other good works ; 8 and 9 are of second-rate preferability, while the rest are to be decidedly avoided without any extenuation or plea. These last tabooed months go by the appellation of *Soonya Masa* or empty months.

Yogini.—This is akin to *varasula.* It is a taboo of directions on certain thidhis. The following will show the specified directions of *Yogini.*

Cardinal Point.	*Yogini-thidhi.*	*Varasula Week Days*
East	Pradhama and Navami	Monday and Saturday
South-East (Agneya)	Thrithiya and Ekadasa	Saturday and Thursday
South	Panchami and Thrayodasi	Thursday
South-West (Nykrithi)	Chathurthi and Dwadasi	Monday and Friday

West	Shasti, thrayodasi and Chathurdasi	Sunday and Friday
North-West (Vayuvyam)	Sapthami and full moon	Sunday and Tuesday
North	Dwithiya and Dasami	Tuesday and Wednesday
North-East (Esanya)	Ashtami and new moon	Wednesday

On these thidhis if one were to travel or move toward the specified direction, one will meet with unpleasant results. The eight cardinal points are supposed to be guarded by eight Guardian-deities (Agni or Fire-God is the ruler of South-East or Agneya ; cf. Latin *Ignis* ; Vayu or Air-God of North-East, Yama or Death-God of the South and so on). If the taboo be violated on the specified dates, these deities will punish the trespasser. Besides the cardinal points the earth and the sky are also tabooed on certain days on account of *Yogini*. *Yogini* is a *kskudhra devata* (one of the minor goddesses). She is supposed to take her position in one of the cardinal points for the day specified. Days on which she is supposed to stand on places like the earth and the sky seem to be arrived at by calculation for every year afresh. If *vara sula* happens to combine with a particular *thidhi* enumerated above, the prohibited direction becomes too dangerous to be pursued. E.g. *vara sula* forbids one to travel towards the west on Sundays and Fridays. Suppose, if *shasti* or *thrayodasi* or *chathurdasi* happens to fall on a Sunday or Friday one must on no account think of a westward journey.

Lagna.—These are the signs of the Zodiacal constellations which are twelve in number :—

(1) Mesha or Aries, (the Ram)
(2) Vrishabha or Taurus, (the Bull)
(3) Midhuna or Gemini, (the Twins)
(4) Kataka or Cancer, (the Crab)
(5) Simha or Leo, (the Lion)
(6) Kanya or Virgo, (the Virgin)
(7) Thula or Libra, (the Scales)
(8) Vrischika or Scorpio, (the Scorpion)
(9) Dhanur or Sagittarius, (the bow-and-arrow)
(10) Makara or Capricornus, (the Goat)
(11) Kumbha or Aquarius, (the pot or Water-carrier)
(12) Meena or Pisces, (the Fish).

Of these signs or lagnas, 4, 5, 7 and 9 are the best ones for all auspicious functions. In building a new house pillars cannot be raised in any other *lagna* than when the Sun is in Taurus or Cancer or Aquarius or Leo or Scorpio, or Aries or Libra or Capricornus. There are also combinations of some of the twelve months with some of these lagnas, which are tabooed for good things.

Lagnas are also called 'rasis' and are believed to influence the lives and fortunes of those individuals born under them. In common parlance the word *rasi* is used to denote luck or fortune.

Nishiddha.—This last division, which we have included is, strictly speaking not a variety of what comes under the head of temporal taboos, but is what, in a

sense, covers the whole of it. The word *nishiddha* has interest and significance for us here. It may be said to be an equivalent of the Polynesean 'taboo'. *Nishiddha* is a Sanskrit word and we find in English-Vernacular dictionaries derivatives thereof in Tamil and Telugu.

We translate from an almanac: "For every *subha karya* [auspicious function] the thidhis of Pradhama, chathurthi, sashti, ekadasi, dwadasi, chathurdasi, Pournima and Amavasya; Tuesdays and Saturdays in the week; Bharani, Kirthika, Arudhra, Aslesha Visaka, Jyeshta, Poorvashada and Poorvabadhra [among the 27 stars];—these are *nishiddha*." It must also be added that the "bright half" (*sukla paksha*) is generally given preference to the dark *paksha* of the moon.

It is hard to divine the reason why thidhis, week days and stars alone should be mentioned under such a general heading as *nishiddha*. We hope we will not be straying far from facts if we are led to conjecture that the other time taboos such as *Rahu Kala*, *Yogini*, *Yoga* and the like are only a multiplication out of the original *nishiddha*; that they have increased in number and complexity as a result of the manifold developments of later generations. As has been already hinted, these prohibitions of time have the closest kinship with the Hindu system of astrology.

Besides the temporal interdictions that have been described above, there are several others. Differentiation in the merits of the days of the week are current in South India. We have already seen how certain week-days (*vara*) are bad. Fridays and Tuesdays are taboo for lending vessels, jewels or other valuable articles. On these days even returning a borrowed article is deferred. Nor should one open one's money chest to spend its contents. These two days are taboo also for sending a pregnant women to her parental house. Saturdays are strictly excluded for marital consummation.

A shave is ordained at the beginning of every *diksha* (or the period of a determined act) and prohibited in the interval. Thus *diksha* came to be used to mean the growth of the beard itself. New moon, full moon, Tuesdays, Saturdays, the Krithika star day, Ekadasi, Dwadasi and some other thidhis and festival days generally are taboo for shaving. But even then a general exception is created in favour of Mondays and Wednesdays, without regard to any other consideration. This exception implies a recommendation for a shave at least once in a week or ten days. Orthodoxy ignores these ideas and there are many who cannot discover a suitable day for months together. They present an untidy appearance everywhere. In these days of hair-cutting saloons and self-shaving the necessity of coming into contact with barbers is gradually dropping out, i. e., the barber-caste and not the saloon barbers who most of them, belong to higher classes. Shaving is also avoided during the Mahalya Amavasya season, that is, from the previous full moon occurring before that Amavasya till about a fortnight. Two brothers should not shave on the same day; neither a father and son.

Certain days in the week are tabooed for the first acceptance of an invitation to dinner at another's house, and they are Thursdays and Sundays. Before we

leave week-days we must add that Fridays, Tuesdays and the ninth day after death are bad for condolence.

Certain objects cannot be mentioned at night. One should not name cobblers or washermen or barbers. For, it is believed that if one does so, these people will appear in dreams, which contingency is not good or auspicious. The same is perhaps the reason for the taboo of the night time for mentioning a snake by directly referring to it, a word like 'rope' being often used instead. Nights are also taboo for expressing one's desire to have an article of food which one likes much. Lending curds, ghee, butter-milk, etc. are often prohibited in certain quarters.

Washing cloths, grinding, sweeping, throwing out rubbish, drawing up accounts or settling them, lending, studying and lying down—these are all prohibited during the evening twilight. In certain localities giving chunam or eggs is also considered as not being good. Forgetfulness is supposed to result from reading at sunset. Poverty is held to be the consequence of washing cloths or sweeping while disease is said to overtake one if one lies down idly or sleeps at sundown because this the time when Lakshmi, goddess of wealth, makes her visits. One must not dine during this time—that is, until night has completely set in.

Babies within their first year should not be brought within the ken of "the fowls of the air", (and especially of the crow or the sparrow), during the morning or the evening twilight. At sunrise, the birds will be "sweeping the skies" in search of food after spending a night in their nests without anything to eat; and at sunset they will be flying back to their shelters with no cheery prospect before them. If, therefore, during such twilight hours a well-fed baby is seen by them, what is called "bird-contagion" (*pakshi dhosha*) is said to result therefrom; and the infant will thereafter pine away into sickness. *Pakshi dhosha* is thus a sort of evil eye

The morning hours are taboo to giving or receiving the papaw fruit. This fruit is held to be good for curing an enlarged spleen, and the prohibition must have arisen from the belief that it is not advisable to give or receive medicine or anything that has medicinal properties during the early hours of the day.

Of the several tunes (*raga*) of South Indian music, some are suitable for singing (or for being played on instruments) in the mornings, others during the midday and still others in the evenings and nights. A tune that is appropriate for the dawn should not be sung during the evenings or nights. There are, nevertheless, many tunes that can be sung at all times but these special tunes should never he rendered unseasonable by being sung at the wrong time.

During midnights it is considered dangerous for young men to stir out alone for fear of their confronting Mohini, the goddess of lust and other malicious deities who are supposed to be wandering abroad at the dead of night. The firstborn is believed to be more strongly susceptible to dangers from such midnight goblins. Evidently this taboo is connected with the belief in spirits.

A person who leaves his place on a journey should not return home on the ninth day and if, out of necessity he does, he should not sleep that night in his own home.

We have already spoken of birth-stars when discussing the bad 'nakshathras.' It is believed by some that if one's birth-anniversary happens to combine with the birth-star week and *lagna*, the consequence is certain death. Among the lower classes bathing and taking physic on one's birthday is held to be unpropitious.

The *pithri* days, (days like new moon, annual worship of the manes, etc.) days on which one had a shave or an oil-bath, the Mahalaya Amavasya fortnight, and daytimes, generally, are taboo for sexual intercourse between husband and wife. Of course, when a woman is in menses she is excluded from the living-room for three days among the Brahmins and for two among the Sudras. Days immediately preceding the wife's menstruation are also avoided in some places for co-habitation. A violation of these taboos has been called a grave sin, just to serve as a deterrent. "Carnal knowledge of a woman during menstruation is of course injurious to the man's health. It is an absurd belief that the sex of the child varies with the day of conception and to choose particular hours for the conception of male or female progeny is an instance of a greater folly."

Five of the 27 stars are unlucky for a girl's attaining puberty. In cases where a girl attains age on such bad star-days she is prevented from seeing her husband for six months. If a Sunday, Tuesday or Saturday happens to combine with any of the stars mentioned above, the taboo extends for one year. There are five other stars which keep the girl under a ban of three months, and this is extended to five if any of those stars happen to coalesce with one of the week days mentioned above.

Every 12th year in the Hindu cycle of sixty years there occurs at the Cauvery river at Kumbakonam what is called the "Mahamangam" or the great holy potamic confluence. Thus on the whole within the cycle there will be five such years and these are taboo for marriages. We are not able to ascertain the reason ascribed for this interdiction. Some maintain that during this year certain planetary influences, unsuitable for auspicious ceremonials, also come in. But others contend that such unsuitable astral influences for marriage etc. occur even in years other than these five 12th years, and that such contingent interdictory influences need not be reckoned with as of any great importance.

Besides marriages, the theory of auspicious time extends to such actions as building houses, digging wells and even the wearing of new garments. There are many time-taboos for sowing seeds, the reaping of the harvests, etc. *Vasthu Purusha* (which probably means the real or ideal personality) is represented in Hindu mythology as using the year as his 'day', getting up from his sleep in a certain month, performing his ablutions, and puja during certain other months, breakfasting and chewing betel during some other months, and sleeping for the rest of the year. House-building and well-digging are prohibited during the time that he is asleep, and the directions towards which he has his face during his sleep are avoided for those purposes until he changes his posture. There are also good and bad times (days, months, star-days, etc.) among the Ayurvedic physicians for gathering herbs to be used for their medicines. We have seen how two brothers are prohibited from shaving on the same day. It is considered that their being married

simultaneously is also not propitious. Similarly a son and a daughter should not be married at the same time.

It must be remembered that among these temporal restrictions with regard to auspicious works, what is good for one kind of cermeny may be inauspicious for another. Thus the *muhurtha* for initiation (*upanayana*) is selected from different standards of propitiousness from those for choosing a wedding *muhurtha.*

There are certain taboos which are observed during, before, or after certain ceremonial occasions such as birth, death, initiation, Ayudha Pooja, etc. When a death has taken place in a house, certain relations in the family of the deceased acquire the death-pollution (*soothaka*). If often lasts about ten days, varying with the nearness or the remoteness of the kinship of the relation concerned. There are also pollutions connected with the birth of a child. This is called *sushti.* The naming (*namakarana*) ceremony for the baby should not be performed until this pollution is removed. *Sushti* also lasts for ten days, the father, mother, and other children of the family being affected.

The whole year after the death of a person is taboo for festivals and other such auspicious observances, the prohibition extending only to the family of the officiant of the funeral ceremony. Curiously enough, however, marriages to some one in the family are performed a few months after the death. We have already pointed out that certain days in the week are bad for condolence. The ninth day after death is also avoided for this purpose.

A pregnant woman must not look at an eclipse nor should she move about during that time. She must avoid hearing the manthras (chantings) of the initiation ceremony. The *Nandhi Devata* (a sort of guardian deity) is said to preside during the marriage and initiation ceremonies, and the manthras which are chanted for that *Nandhi* are considered to be harmful for the baby developing in the embryo. If a pregnant woman neglects to be careful during eclipse time, the child that she bears is said to be liable to be cursed with deformity, bodily or mental. A woman in confinement is kept aloof just as she is in her menstrual period. Not until the day of *namakarana* should she bathe, when her pollution is done away with.

The celebration of Ayudha Pooja is intended for the worship of tools, implements and books. The goddess Saraswathi, the divine consort of Brahma, is supposed to be the deity for skill and study. Hence she is worshipped on this day, and one should devote that day for this purpose entirely, and should avoid working with one's tools or implements or reading one's books.

We have already seen that the new moon and full moon 'thidhis' are tabooed days. As they are for shaving, these days are taboo for taking oil-baths. Fasting is ordained on new moon and other 'pithri' days. A single meal should be taken on such days and that too only after 12 o'clock.

We have omitted to mention, when speaking about bad week days, that Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays are unpropitious for death. It is believed that, if one dies on these days, some one else in the family is sure to follow soon after. Hence it is thought inadvisable to remove the corpse to the cremation ground until something is done to prevent such a contingency. The Brahmins drive nails into

the funeral bier and the Non-Brahmins tie a live chicken or cock or a cocoanut to the poles of the bier. It is here strikingly evident that taboo is closely allied to magic.

If one's birth-star happens to fall on a lunar or solar eclipse day, one is then to go to the sea-shore, river or tank and tie a *patta* across one's forehead. This *patta* or sheet is usually made of thin gold or silver according to the means of the agent, and after the lapse of the eclipse it should be given to a purohit On eclipse days every one is supposed to be affected by impurity (*peeda*) and people are ordained to go to the beach and bathe twice,—once during the full eclipse, and again after the sun or moon is released. Not only eclipses but other times when such unusual natural phenomena occur (such as tornadoes, cyclones, untimely or exceptionally disastrous thunderstorms) are considered portentious.

House-construction should not be commenced, nor marriages performed during the *Kaththiri* (literally, 'scissors'). This is the summer solstice usually occurring in the month of May. It lasts for a fortnight when the fire-star (*Agni nakshathra*) passes by the sun and the heat is intensified thereby. The figurative name given to this period is, no doubt, meant to signify this intensity of heat. Some are of opinion that the fire-star is the name given to the Sun itself during these especially hot days.

These are some of the several temporal taboos observed in South India, and there are many more. We do not claim by any means to have dealt exhaustively with the subject. The great number and complexity of these observances of taboo have only tended to obscure their utility, and increase the troubles in divining their explanations. Modern civilization is gradually doing away with many of the restrictions imposed by taboo. Minor varieties of temporal taboos of the kind we have been describing in the last few paragraphs are very many, and the limited scope of this essay does not permit their complete and satisfactory enumeration.

A Note on Anatole France

Anatole France, up to the time of his death, was generally taken to be the representative and consummation of European culture ; but if you set out to find what it was that won such a position, you are impressed, probably, less by any one of his gifts than by the multitude of them. In his different books he seems a different man. He could be as tenderly and daintily sentimental (in *Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard* and *Le Livre de Mon Ami*) as the wizard who plucked Peter Pan from his heart and wrote *Quality Street* ; as detached, careful, and accurate as Conrad (though, perhaps, being more lucid, the finer artist) ; as pessimistic (though not so savagely) as Swift. He had keener insight into the workings of men's minds, of many types, than any English author known to me—a master of the "psychological novel" ; he could be cynical with a thoroughness which, north of the Channel, seems appalling ; and he could outrage the accepted standards of propriety with a shamelessness which shocks us, probably because we do not understand it.

Yet behind all his books, diverse as they are,—and in the very heart of some of them,—there is the same quiet, kindly, sardonic lover of wisdom. "Irony" is a word one has to use constantly in writing about Anatole France : it is almost a title that he appropriated for himself ; and in many of his novels the central figure, a purely contemplative one, is an ironical projection, offered without pride or humility, of his ironical self. He believed it necessary to accept things as he found them, and among the rest accepted himself : he looked upon Anatole France, as upon everyone else, with kindly amusement, dissected him with skilful raillery, and scrutinized him with the "disillusioned sagacity" of his own Coignard. "Coignard's philosophy," he says, " is a system of genial irony. Founded on human frailty, its foundation is secure and everlasting."

Some casual samples of his irony are translated below. It will be seen that they are not consistent ; the third extract cannot be reconciled with the first and the last. If he was ever taxed with inconsistency, one can imagine him answering, with a deprecating smile, that no sensible man should expect anything else of erring humanity. He was sceptical even about his own scepticism, and when he smiled at the folly of others he smiled at his own wisdom also. His despair is epicurean ; he luxuriates in melancholy.[1] This cheerful pessimism is very puzzling to most foreigners. We should prefer a man either plainly doleful or plainly gay ; and we should prefer likewise the satirist who limits his attention to definite classes of persons, so that we may think that we ourselves (of course) are not his butts.

[1] Here is an illuminating passage from *Le Jardin D'Epicure*. " Believers who have advanced some way," he says, " come to appreciate the joys of self-denial. So the philosopher, persuaded that everything which we see is but shadow and illusion, enjoys the ecstasy of contemplative gloom, and forgets his sorrows in serene hopelessness " ; and so on.

Indeed, his scepticism in itself is not so offensive morally as the lightness with which he takes it up. This gay cynicism, he makes you feel, is not real, and what he says does not matter ; but neither is there anything else which is real, or which does matter : and meanwhile this kind of talk is very entertaining. In this last he is certainly right.

How far his political actions contradicted the professions of his books, I am not qualified to judge ; but in that extraordinary Dreyfus Case, and in the doctrine of Socialism, he seems to have found something that did matter. He had, at any rate, a very real sense of justice, as Coignard reveals.

He is, then, or pretends to be, thoroughly sceptic ; and, as I have said, he occasionally flouts our championship of the respectable. Yet I don't believe that anyone (not blinded by dogmatic preconceptions) will think the less of human ideals for reading Anatole France, or will fail to find himself kindlier disposed towards his fellow men. One's first impulse is to call him, with our own Hardy, an immoral writer ; but on a just and candid review they both defy condemnation as they defy classification. There is something great in both of them, and, as Saint Augustine said, " Where there is greatness, there is truth." The long row of books,—political, romantic, historical, critical, belletristic,—which France produced during his long life, are filled with common sense and benevolence, written with faultless skill ; and it is these things, together with his enormous humane learning, his power of bringing an ancient century to life and investing an imaginary scene with reality, and his beautiful lucidity of phrase, that we think of, rather than his occasional excursions, only half earnest, into cynicism. Yet it is mainly the cynicism which I quote : partly because these passages represent that aspect of his genius which is most foreign to the ordinary run of English literature, and which therefore we ought to study most carefully and judge most cautiously ; partly also because a book like *Sylvestre Bonnard or La Rotisserie de la Reine Pédauque* cannot be represented by specimens.

J. R. M.

INCIPIUNT EXCERPTA

(1)

Everybody is prophesying, or expecting, or already seeing, great revolutions in society. This is the everlasting delusion of the prophetic spirit. Change is doubtless the first condition of life : everything that lives is for ever changing, but it changes imperceptibly and almost without our knowledge.

All progress, the worst and the best alike, is slow and regular. There have been no tremendous changes, there will be none : I mean no sudden or complete changes. All social innovations are effected with the gentle deliberation of the forces of nature. Whether we like them or hate them, things always are what they must be.

Our social condition is the effect of past conditions, as it will be the cause of those that follow. It is determined by its predecessors, as its successors will be determined by it. This bond of the years makes for the long survival of one type ;

and this order secures the tranquillity of life. True, it offers little satisfaction to inquisitive or restless minds, or to hearts fired by the passion for self-sacrifice. But it is universal and omnipotent. Let us indulge zeal and the prescribed illusions; let us labour at whatever we deem good or useful, but without hoping for a sudden or a wonderful success, and without dreaming of a social apocalypse. We must not expect a miracle; we must do our insignificant best in preparing for the future, which may be better than the present, or may be worse. We shall not be there to know.

Le Jardin d'Epicure, pp. 100–102.

(2)

When the sun has spent its heat, as it must do some day, men will long since have disappeared. The last will be as futile (*dénués*) and as stupid as the first were. They will have forgotten all the arts and all the sciences. They will lie wretchedly in caverns, beside the glaciers which will roll their transparent mass over the vanished ruins of towns now filled with laughter, love, grief, and hope.

Ib., p. 19.

(3)

Since wealth and civilization, then, are as fruitful of war as poverty and barbarism, since the folly of man is incurable, there remains but one good thing to be done. The wise man will gather together dynamite enough to blow up this planet. When its smoking fragments have disappeared into space, the universe will be imperceptibly improved, and a certain amount of satisfaction will be felt by the cosmic conscience. (By the way, there is no cosmic conscience.)

--L'Ile des Pingouins, p 179.

(4)

Those who are unlike ourselves we think dangerous; those whose religion differs from ours we call irreligious. If a man has not our own illusions we say he is a sceptic without even enquiring whether he has others.

J. E. p. 90

(5)

I have been reading a book in which a poet-philosopher describes men freed from joy, sorrow, and curiosity. When I came out of this new Utopia and returned to earth; when I found myself once more among men toiling, loving, suffering,—how I loved them! How I welcomed the right to toil and suffer with them! I felt that here only was real joy. Joy issues from suffering, as balm from the wounded tree. The philosopher's men killed passion, and with the same stroke killed happiness and grief, pain and pleasure, good, evil, beauty: everything, indeed, and above all virtue. They were wise, but worthless; for the only real worth is effort. Of what use was their long life, if they did not fill it,—if they did not live it?

—Ib., pp 47—8.

(6)

The more I muse upon human life, the more I think we ought to bring to it, as witnesses and judges, Irony and Pity ; as the Egyptians when they were dying called upon the goddesses Iris and Nephtys. Irony and Pity are two good counsellors : one, with a smile, commends life ; the other, with a tear, sanctifies it. The Irony I invoke has no cruelty. It does not mock love or beauty. It is gentle and benevolent. Its smile calms wrath, and by its aid we can laugh at knaves and fools, whom we might otherwise be weak enough to hate.

Ib., pp 94—5.

(7)

All we can do with this world is to resign ourselves to it. But noble men can give to resignation the beautiful name of contentment, and great souls can resign themselves with sacred joy. In the bitterness of doubt, amid world-wide evil, and under an empty heaven, they can keep unspoilt the ancient virtues of the faithful. They believe, and try to believe. They are warmed by even a little human love. They reverently cherish Faith, which the Christian doctrine raises above all the other virtues, because it implies or replaces them. Let us keep our faith, not in the humanity which has failed, despite the noblest efforts, to banish evil from the world, but in those inconceivable beings who will some day rise above man, as man has risen above the brute. Let us keep our faith in that universal birth-pang of which the biological law is evolution. This fruitful birth-pang we feel growing in us : it urges us on our journey to a goal inevitable and divine.

Ib., pp. 115 –6

A Historical Sketch of Telugu Literature

By T. Rajagopala Rao, B.A., L.T., M.R.A.S.

CHAPTER II.

Early Telugu Literature and Nannaya's Mahabharata.

THE Brahmanical influences referred to in the last chapter proved fatal to the ancient literature of Andhra and the attention of the literates in the land was focussed entirely on this new religious culture. A few traditions are, however, said to be recorded in the Buddhistic literature of Tibet to show that the great Nagarjuna caused the Buddhist *Tripitakas* to be translated into Telugu about the third century A.D. and that Buddhaghosha's Magadhi version of the Singhalese *Atthakatha* was rendered into Telugu about the fourth century. But these statements have yet to be corroborated.[1] Quotations, again, are given by two famous grammarians of the Telugu language Atharvana and Athokshaja; from ancient grammars such as those of Kaṇwa (said to be the first Telugu author, like Agasthyar of Tamil), Bṛhaspati, Pushpadanta, Indra and Ravana, but these quotations do not throw any light on the literature of their age. The quotations themselves are needlessly much doubted; but their language is Sanskrit thereby showing that these grammars were all in Sanskrit.

That literature however did exist during the early centuries of the Christian era is amply indicated by many pieces of evidence. (1) The masterly way in which Nannaya (author of the first Telugu work now extant) wielded his language and his style, for which he is admired even to-day cannot be the result of a first experiment in poetry on a language that had never been shaped for it. (2) The Sanskrit meters used by Nannaya are hybrids in form containing many new rigid elements interfering, with the freedom of the poet. (3) Nannaya's poetry contains many new meters unknown to Sanskrit, but found in some Telugu inscriptions of the pre-Nannayan age. (4) Many nursery rhymes, women's songs and proverbs of a poetical cast that are still in the country indicate an ancient type of poetry earlier than these Sanskrit innovations.

Of the details of poetry before the time of Nannaya, very little however, is yet known. The present writer, was the first, to discover their form and indicate their metrical type, but the scarcity of material leaves nothing to be said about the content of such poems. Two kinds of poetry have however been differentiated by post-Nannayan poets, *viz.*, the *Margi* and the *Desi*, and the Telugu poet, King Nanne-Choda tells us in his immortal *Kumarasambhava* that the Desi type owes its origin to the Chalukyan Kings. The exact difference between the Margi and the Desi

[1] Tavanatha's Tibetan history is said to be a mine of historical information but the book has not yet been translated into English or any Indian language. Cf. also Mahanam to Chapter xxxvii.

has never been explained by any poet. Now that we have known the material features of the pre-Nannayan poetry we can see that as in music, so in poetry the *Margi* is the pre-Sanskritic original type and *Desi* the later Sankritic innovation. One of these pre-Nannayan poems of the *Margi* class is the now famous *Inscription of Yuddhamalla*, found in the temple of Siva at Bezwada. The language of this inscription is a mixture of Sanskrit and Telugu, and it records in an archaic *Akkara* meter, a statement of King Yuddhamalla about the construction of the temple of Kumaraswami at Bezwada and a choultry attached to it. The learned world first rejected this inscription as a piece of meaningless prose, but a lengthy explanation by the present writer[1] of the archaic nature of its metrical structure and a scansion of its first twelve lines settled all controversy. The inscription has since been edited in the *Epigraphia Indica* and also by the Telugu academy, and has been reproduced by Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu as the earliest specimen of Telugu poetry. This inscription is dated about A.D. 970. Another specimen of pre-Nannayan poetry has since been discovered in a damaged inscription found at Mopur in the Cuddapah District. The inscriptions of Panduranga in the Nellore District are prose, not poetry, and the Munugodu inscription in the Nellore District is not pre-Nannayan as it mentions King Gonka, who lived about a century after Nannaya.

From the ancient types of prosody that the present writer has been able to investigate, it appears that during pre-Nannayan times, a line of poetry ranged from four to eight feet, that the quantity varied according to the nature of the meter, that *yati* or *prasa* of the Telugu type (or sometimes both) was compulsory for all of them and that scansion was possible, not on the Sanskrit model of single syllables or *matras*, but on a system of syllabic combinations. The metrical types so far scanned lead us to suppose that poetry was not a new acquisition to the South Indian races, but that a common type of poetry existed even before the differentiation of the original stock into separate dialects, and that in each of these dialects new prosodial forms were developed around the underlying original so as to lend to the prosody of each of these languages its distinctive features.

The poetry of the pre-Nannayan nursery rhymes, may be said to be in what is called *Janu Tenugu* and differs from that of the inscriptions both in form and in language. Their metrical form is more archaic and their language rarely if ever contains a Sanskrit word. These rhymes are the common property of every household throughout the length and breadth of the Andhra, country and their universality, their metrical structure, the pure unmixed Telugu that they contain, and above all the primitive form of their cast, ideas and outlook lend support to the view that, despite the many changes that time has wrought on them, they yet are relics of genuine ancient poetry. 76 such fragments have been collected by the present writer, ever since he suspected their ancient type, and the longest among them does not exceed eight lines. If the first Telugu words on record are in the inscriptions of the

[1] The volume of Sasilekha for 1910—11. Though no scholars doubt its poetical nature now, one or two critics still think that it is not pre-Nannayan but the evidence of prosody is against them as Nannaya's Akkaras are metrical, less complicated, and modern.

eastren Chalukyan king, Kubja Vishnuvarthana, about A. D. 560 and indicate bound aries of land gifted away by him, if the first complete Telugu sentences on record date only from the inscriptions of A. D. 750 and later on, the first fragments of poetry of the Andhras are not less antique and are to be seen in the rhymes that the old dames in Telugu households teach to their pet grandchildren at play and food-time.

Some of these pre-Nannayan *margi* relics are of a religious nature : they are sometimes the set religious formulæ in Telugu to be repeated by women during certain religious observances of a pre-Aryan type, yet lingering in the customs of the country. Not a word, nor a syllable of these religious formulæ can be misplaced or mispronounced by the devotee, and thus through sanctity, their purity has been greatly maintained. Here is a translation of one of them :

"Seen ! Seen ! What (have you) seen ? Seen the lady and the lord ! What are they doing ! (They are) playing at dice ? Who had won and who lost ? The lady had won, the lord had lost ? (Are there) any witnesses for this ? The bull is the witness—the serpent is the witness : Oh ! mother goddess of wealth ! You are my witness ; I am your witness."

The following is another formula for religious ceremony, called *Chitti Bottu*

"Chitti Bottu—must be done ;
In a rich house—must be born ;
A pure silk cloth—must be worn ;
Golden jewels—must adorn ;
With seven brothers—must be born ;
(World) in one wheel—must govern."

But to Nannaya Bhattaraka, the court poet of King Rajaraja of the eastern Chalukya line of Vengi (A. D. 1022—1063) belongs the credit of the authorship of the first great poetical work now extant, and Rajahmundry, on the banks of the Godavari is the sacred place of its production. It was an age of Brahmanical revival and it was necessary to put down the existing religions in Andhra by establishing the new culture there. A method of religious instruction in Southern India consists in the reading and exposition to the masses of good and high class literature by clever and competent scholars, who sit every evening purposely to read and expound them, and a translation of the Mahabharata of Sanskrit into easy flowing Telugu seemed to serve that purpose admirably well. Women and the Sudras, whom law prohibits to hear the Veda can know religion only through the Purana and Itihasa, and the first period of Telugu literature was thus essentially a period of translations from Sanskrit. The Telugu language was difficult for a Sanskrit scholar to wield and it was necessary to create a new form of Telugu fitting Sanskrit into it and enabling Sanskrit meters alone to be mostly used according to the genius of both the tongues. It was at such a juncture that king Rajaraja of the lunar race of Kshatriyas felt a pride in getting the Mahabharata translated into Telugu. "The glorious deeds of the heroes of my race, of Puru and Bharata, of the lords of Kurus and Pandus that descended from the moon, and the story of the great Pandavas, so

famous and virtuous, I am always parting to hear ! Do you in *Tenugu* give the story of Vyasa's Mahabharata, to bring out all the lessons that it conveys ?" Thus addressed by the king, Nannaya replied, 'Even so, my liege. The task of counting the spotless clusters of stars, of reaching the endless shores of knowledge in the Vedas and the Sastras, and of swimming across the impassable waters of Bharata's poetry are difficult even for Brahma. Yet, by your command and with the blessings of the scholars assembled here, I will do it to the best of my powers." So was the charge of translation given to him and so was it undertaken.

The name, Nannaya indicates that he was a Brahmin of Kanarese extraction. He was a Saivite by religion and was the family priest of Rajaraja and also his court poet. His translation of the Mahabharata proves that he had full knowledge of Pampa's Kanarese translations, and of the methods whereby language was standardised in Kanarese literature. Nannaya's was a poetic genius of the highest order, and he was a profound scholar of Sanskrit. Bowing to the gods, and to the scholars, Nannaya set himself to the sacred task before him and internal evidence from his great work indicates that two motives must have actuated him to shape his translation in the way he did. On the one hand, there was a scarcity of vernacular literature to expound religion to the masses, but such a literature was a necessity and served to fulfil the religious needs better than any Sanskrit original. The main points in the original are all that are needed in the translation, the details being supplied by the scholars that expound these texts. A mixed language that such a version contains has to be standardised, and that was the second of Nannaya's purposes. In Kannada for instance, Sanskrit words and compounds and Sanskrit idioms were freely used by all its poets, and all that a pure Sanskrit word or compound received in Kanarese was a termination at the end, that standardised the usage and made it current in its literature. In thus adopting the methods of Kannada, Nannaya chalked out a way for Sanskrit scholars to express themselves in Telugu, and standardised his method in his Mahabharata by the royal patronage that he enjoyed. There is no wonder therefore if Nannaya's work became the standard for Telugu for all future writers, and his usage became the final court of authority in all literary matters. Nannaya thus called himself *Vāganusasana*, and *Vipula Sabda Sasana* (one who weilded the language) and the success of his attempt was the secret of the highest place of linguistic authority that he attained. His language was simple and easy flowing, and free from the long compound *samasams*, that became the bane of later poets. He set himself to his work with a religious zeal and candour, that originators of great movements always have. Later poets adored him as the Brahma (creator) of Telugu Literature. Nannaya acknowledges the help rendered to him by another scholar, a classmate of his, Narayana Bhatta, also a great Kanarese scholar, but the details of that help were never, known. In the 4100 stanzas that Nannaya wrote, the poet is rarely seen by his reader, the story being of absorbing interest. With a force of style and dignity of expression, Nannaya carries his readers artfully on, along with his heroes. He works subtly, yet overpoweringly on our feelings and our emotions. As we read his passages, we are lost in the visionary

world of poetic thought and feeling, that places us face to face with his heroes or the events and lifts us high into the regions of bliss. Real life and feeling are the features of his poetry and Nannaya rarely needs a figure of speech to heighten an effect. As in Kanarese, he began his work in the *Champu* form—a mixture of prose and poetry—and thus the poetical literature of Andhra[1] became only *Champu*, following the lines of its most authoritative poet. The special rules of *Yati* and *Prasa* that required repetition of certain letters or letters of an allied group in the lines of Telugu poetry, and the purpose of these works, *viz.*, religious exposition gave to the *Champu* poet freedom to write in prose, where poetry seemed by prosodial restrictions to interfere with his thoughts and with his choice of apt vocabulary.

Till the age of Tikkana (1275 A.D.), Telugu poets began their poems with a Sanskrit *sloka*. Nannaya first did it and so did the other poets after him following his ideals. The first stanza of Nannaya is thus a Sanskrit *sloka*. His second is a piece of prose containing but five Telugu words for 37 Sanskrit words that it has and his third and fourth stanzas contain no Telugu word at all. His fifth stanzas has six Telugu words and the sixth only one. We thus see from this kind of translation that the importation of Sanskrit words and compounds which we noticed in the earlier poetical inscriptions of Telugu, was perpetuated by Nannaya in his translation of the Mahabharata to serve as a model for all future poetry. It was Sanskrit scholars that produced literature for Telugu and it were easier for them to write if Sanskrit words and compounds were freely admitted. Nor was Telugu so rich in vocabulary as to express the finer shades of poetic thought and poetic feeling. It is however true that Nannaya used less Sanskrit words than many other Telugu poets, and the proportion of Sanskrit words to Telugu in his Mahabharata is in the ratio of 2 : 1.

Nannaya's was not an exact translation of the Mahabharata but its abridged adaptation. The original text of Mahabharata had a lakh of slokas in it of which 24,000 formed the main story, the remaining 76,000 being devoted to the *Upakhyanams*. Nannaya in his translation rendered word for word certain portions, which on account of their beauty or moral ideals required such a treatment, while in the other portions he merely took the ideas and expressed them in his best poetical way. Of the eighteen *parvas* of that great epic, Nannaya translated only two parvas and a half—the *Adi* and the *Sabha* parvas and a portion of the *Aranya*—and for the 22,215 slokas that these two and a half parvas contained Nannaya's translation has only about 4,100 stanzas—a fact that shows the nature of his abridgment. The text of the original Mahabharata as existed during the times of Nannaya has itself undergone condensation in later times. Nannaya gives us the number of slokas that each parva of his Sanskrit original contained and the following table shows the difference between the Bengal version of Mahabharata to-day and the South Indian version of Nannaya one thousand years ago.

[1] The Sataka literature is an exception because it starts on the rule that all its stanzas are to be of the same type. Tikkanna of a latter date attempted poetry without a single line of prose, but hardly any poet followed his model,

Serial number.	Name of Parva.	Number of Slokas according to		Serial number.	Name of Parva.	Number of Slokas according to	
		Bengal version.	Nannaya.			Bengal version.	Nannaya.
1	Adi	8,884	9 984	10	Sauptika ...	870	2,874
2	Sabha ...	2,507	4,311	11	Sthri ...	775	1,775
3	Aranya ...	11,664	13,664	12	Shanti ...	14,732	14,525
4	Virata ...	2,050	3.500	13	Anusasanika ...	8,000	12,000
5	Uddyoga ...	6,698	6,998	14	Aswamedha ...	3,320	4,420
6	Bhishma ..	5 884	5,884	15	Ashramavasa ...	1,5c6	1,106
7	Drona ...	8,900	10 919	16	Mausala ...	320	300
8	Karna ...	4 964	4.900	17	Mahaprasthanika	320	120
9	Salya ...	3.220	3,220	18	Swargarohana ...	209	200

In the treatment of his subject, Nannaya was sometimes an improvement over his original. One instance may be given : in the choice for a priest by King Janamejaya for his *sarpayaga*, the king was told that the priest he chose was a son of the Nagas and that he would not refuse whatever a Brahmin demands of him. Consenting to these condition, Janamejaya accepts the priest and this defeats the great sacrifice that he had undertaken. Nannaya omits the story of the conditions demanded by the priest. Janamejaya begins the sacrifice and a Brahmin begs of him to give it up as it caused destruction to the race of Nagas. The character Janamejaya is heightened by his ready response when he speaks of the glory of abiding by the truth, and nobly gives up what otherwise was an act of destruction. The language of Bharata goes on steadily improving until we reach the end of the Adi parva. There and in the whole of the Sabha Parva, Nannaya was at his best and the most glorious pieces of his poetry are seen in these portions. The style gets less and less pointed as we read his Aranya Parva, which also contains many insipid passages and the great work of translation, so earnestly begun stops in the middle of a description of the *Sarat ritu*, and ominously with the words *parapuritambalai*, "completed by others." Indeed Nannaya's translation closed with these words, and the remaining portions of the Mahabharata had to be completed by two other poets, Errapragada and Tikkana Somayaji.

The failure of Nannaya to complete his Bharata is attributed to a curse. Tradition has it, that King Rajarajah promised rich presents to whoever translated the Mahabharata first, that a poet, Atharwana completed the whole book, before Nannaya finished two parvas and a half, that Nannaya out of jealousy caused Atharvana's translations to be burnt and that Atharvana, seeing his great work fall into those flames and perish cursed the person responsible for the fire, and that Nannaya therefore became mad and thus was his Bharata left incomplete. Atharvana, no doubt, wrote a Bharata in Telugu, as some stray stanzas yet extant in the language show, but he lived two centuries after Nannaya. Another story wants us to believe that Nannaya destroyed the book, *Raghavapandaviyam*,

written by the poet Vemulavada Bhimakavi, and that the latter therefore cursed Nannaya, thus preventing him from completing his Mahabharata.

The work of Nannaya takes the highest place in Telugu literature. It has perfected a hybridised language for poetical purposes, and in the absence of earlier literature served as a great model both for grammar and for prosody. The Sanskrit meters largely used by Nannaya were the very meters largely used by the Kanarese writers—*viz.* the *kandam*, *champakamala*, *utpalamala*, *sardulam*, *matthebham*, *sragdhara* and *mahasragthara*; the method of Teluguising Sanskrit forms was precisely the same as the Kanarese method of abridging the Sanskrit texts for translation. More than 4,000 of his stanzas were written in one of the seven meters above or in the indigenous *gitorm*, and *sisam*, the other meter, used by him being nearly a hundred and consisting of 22 taralas, 24 mattako kilas, 1 thotakam, 8 malinis, 12 taruvojas, 5 prithvis, 34 madhyakkaras, 3 vasanta tilakas, 1 manini, 2 kavirajavirajitams, 1 mathurakkara, 1 dṛta vilambitam, 3 layagrahis, 1 vanamayweam, 4 utsahas, 1 padmakam, 1 swagatam, 1 ambaruham, 1 rathodhatam, 1 manibhushnam, 1 dandakam and 1 akkarike. The indigenous Telugu meters, gitam and seesam, are freely used by him throughout the work with almost all the possible forms of their rhythmic and yati variations.

Of the other works written by Nannaya, four are generally mentioned, *viz. Indravijayam*, *Lakshana Saram*, *Camundika vilasam* and *Andhra Sabha Chintamani*. Of these, the first and second are not now extant, all that is left of them being but a stanza from each, quoted in a book on prosody, the *Rangarat Chandas*. The third and fourth are spurious productions in the name of Wannaya. *Chamundika Vilasam* does not begin with a sloka and it has *Shashtyantams* in it (addresses of praise in the dative case) which no writer before Tikkana ever used. The language and style of the book are modern, inferior and faulty. *Andhra Sabha Chintamani* is a Sanskrit work on Telugu Grammar, but it treats of many post-Nannayan grammatical forms. A writer of the seventeenth century, Appakavi, tells us that Rajaraja had a son by name Sarangadhara who stealthily learnt the sutras (niles) of *Andhra Sabha Chintamani* as they were being composed by Nannaya, that the book was however lost to the world as Bhimakavi, contemporary poet of Nannaya out of spite against him for suppressing his *Raghava Pandaviyam*, threw Nannaya's grammar into the Godavari, that the book was lying under its waters for six centuries, one day Appakavi had a dream in which he was told that a Brahmin from *Matangagiri* would bring him that book the next morning and that was how he obtained a copy of *Andhra Sabha Chintamani*. History tells us that Rajaraja had no son, by name Sarangadhara, and the popular myth of Sarangadhara and Chitrangi is an ancient tradition, imposed on this Chalukyan king. The absurdity of the story of how *Andhra Sabha Chintamani* was obtained is its own condemnation apart from internal evidence which refers to Atharvana's grammar, written two centuries after Nannaya, and to many post-Nannayan forms like *unna* and *kala* as the Telugu present and future tense terminations, while in Nannaya's time these terminations were *edu* and *unee* respectively.

Thus has a new type of Telugu literature begun under the royal patronage of the Chalukyan Kings,—a new age of Sanskritised poetry. Its effect on the nation was superb. It became the one and only model for language and style, and all future Telugu works became its imitations. Literature, written in the old meters came to be looked upon as inferior, even if it contained a good proportion of Sanskrit words and the *margi* type of poetry slowly disappeared from the field. Its ancient records perished without a trace, and all that was left of them was the form that lingered still in folksongs and women's *Pātalu.* We shall in the subsequent chapters see how this Sanskritised poetry was developed by the later poets, so as to give to the Telugu language a distinct genius of its own.

Studies in Vedic Religion

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(1)

All study of Vedic religion must begin properly with Rig Veda x. 18 ; for it describes the earliest religious practices and beliefs of Vedic Hindus. The hymn describes the inhumation of the dead body, and incidentally throws some light upon the ideas of the people concerning the future life. As the hymn is generally recognized to be the oldest of its kind, it naturally forms the basis on which the whole religious superstructure is to be reared.

The common method of disposing of the dead among the ancient Hindus was by cremating the dead body. The practice was so universal as to lead many scholars to suppose that it was the only method known. Some eminent scholars like Schrader are obliged to detect the traces of the practice of interment in such fugitive phrases as, *anagni dagdhah*, which need not necessarily mean burial. The phrase means, " those that are not burnt by fire." Interment is not the only alternative ; the phrase may refer to cases of people drowned in water, or to those, whose dead bodies were exposed on elevated places,[1] so that the birds of the air might consume the flesh. We cannot, therefore, feel very certain that *anagni dadahāh* refers exclusively to the custom of interment. But we need not hunt after fugitive phrases with Schrader to discover traces of this practice.[2] R.V. x. 18 gives us a vivid description of an interment ceremony ; vs. 10 asks the dead man to " enter the mother earth, the wide-spread earth." The earth is requested to protect him " from the proximity of the evil-being" ; verse 11 asks the earth to allow the dead man's breath to " raise upward (easily) ; she is also entreated not to " oppress him," to " be easy of access to him ; to treat him kindly." She is asked to cover him " even as a mother covers her son with the skirt of her garment. . . ." Verse 12 expresses the hope that earth may lightly rest upon him, that his breath may ascend ; and that " thousands of particles (of soil) (may) rest upon him." Verse 13 describes the concluding part of the ceremony. " I heap the earth above thee, and placing this clod of earth, may I not hurt thee." It is seen from these that the ancient Hindus were at one time accustomed to bury their dead. Wilson, however, points out that though R. V. x. 18 describes a burial rite, yet the burial need not necessarily have been that of a dead body ; it may as well refer to the burial of the relics after cremation ; but this is a mistake.

A careful examination of the funeral hymns shows that the custom of burial preceded the custom of cremation. There are two hymns in the Rig Veda (x. 15 and 16) which give us a very good account of the cremation ceremony ; but they

[1] Atharvaveda XVIII, 2-34.

[2] Translated by Dr. Rajendralal, Indo-Aryans Vol. II.

bear distinct marks of the earlier custom. In x. 15 we have only a hint : " they who consumed by fire and not cremated ; " not cremated " need not necessarily mean burial. But x. 16 comes to our assistance. The dead body, was not considered inert matter, void of feelings and incapable of receiving sensations. It was affected by pain and hunger ; it was supposed to be hurt by the throwing in of a clod of earth. So long as the custom of burial continued, there was not much strain upon the feelings of the people. But the contact with fire was quite different. It would cause excruciating pain to the deceased. Therefore when the dead body was consigned to the flames, they were really concerned. They thought that the dead man would suffer from the effects of burning. Hence they entreated Agni, not to burn him, not to cause him pain,--R. V. x. 16, 1 : " Agni consume him not entirely ; afflict him not ; scatter not (here and there) his skin nor his body. . . ." They were not quite certain that their prayer would induce " the flesh-devouring Agni" to deal with the deceased mildly. They took certain precautions to ensure his safety. A cow (*anustarani*) or a goat was sacrificed, and its omentum was placed upon the body in different places, and the hide was used as a sort of covering to protect it from the fire.

R .V. x. 16, 7 " Shield thee with the hide against the flames of Agni ; encompass thee about with fat and marrow. So will the bold one, eager to attack thee with fierce glow, fail to girdle and consume thee."

They also requested Agni to be satisfied with the animal that was sacrificed.

R. V. x. 16, 4. " The goat is thy portion ; burn that Agni, with thy heat ; let thy flame, thy splendour consume it ; with those glorious members which thou hast given him, O Jatavedas, bear him to the world of the virtuous."

In spite of the change of funeral customs, certain old ideas still persisted. The preservation of the body was still considered necessary for continued existence. While R. V. x. 16, 1 requests Agni not " to scatter his (the dead man's) body nor his skin, verse 6 of the same hymn assures the dead man that " what wound so ever the dark bird hath inflicted, the emmet, or the serpent, or the jackal, may Agni who devoureth all things heal it, and some who hath passed into the Brahmans." These texts clearly show that the cremation of the dead body hurt the Hindu sentiment. They were not accustomed to see a human body burning. Though they abandoned the custom of interment, they could not yet completely reconcile themselves to the novel process of cremation. It is to this sense of wounded sentiment that we have to attribute the marks of the custom of burial in hymns whose main object is to describe a cremation rite.

There are a number of books that describe the Hindu funeral rites ; we confine our attention to an examination of two of them which are really important. These are the Taittiriya Aranyaka, and the Asvalāyana Grihya Sutras. The former which is also the earliest treatise on the subject is acquainted only with cremation ; but when we closely scrutinise the passages describing it, we are surprised to find that the rites are made up of two layers one superimposed on the other.

After the body has been carried to the *śmaśāna*, " the next operations are to dig a trench, arrange the fuel thereupon, etc. [1]. The Asvalāyana Grihyasutras give us a clearer idea of the procedure.

Ch. 1, x. and 1, 6. " If he dies, one should have a piece of ground dug up to the south-east, or to the south-west."

9. " (The piece of ground dug up should be) of the length of a man with upraised arms,

10. " Of the breadth of one vyama (fathom).

11. " Of the depth of one vitasti (span) [2].

At the time when the Aranyaka and the sutras were composed, cremation was universally practised; there was absolutely no need of a trench for the purposes of cremation. How are we to explain the excavation of a shallow trench in which fuel was arranged? There is only one way to account for it. It was the survival of an old custom which was already dead and forgotten. This becomes obvious, when we examine the A. G. S. (Ch. 1 x, 1 9, 10,) passage. Verses 9 and 10 describe the length and breadth that are required to bury the corpse. The depth must originally have been greater than the span of A. G. S. Ch. 1, x 1. 11. It must have been levelled to suit the new conditions. The trench is reminiscent of the grave of R. V. x. 18; but this is not the only trace of the ancient custom of burial. Sometime after the cremation, the bones are picked up from the ashes; they are then deposited in an urn which is buried with due pomp and ceremony. According to T. A. " the first act is to sprinkle milk and water on the cinders, and to strike on the heap with an udumbara staff to separate the bones." The bones are then picked up by the senior wife, " They should then be washed and deposited in an urn. . . a proper place having been selected, and funeral procession proceed to it in the morning. . . . ."[3] The urn is finally buried in the earth. The urn-burial is more vividly described in the A. G. S.

Kand 5, 1. " The gathering (of bones is performed, after the tenth (tithi from the death) . . . ?

2. " The man into a male urn without any special marks ".

* * * * *

6. " The feet first, the head last ".

7. " Having well gathered them and purified them with a winnowing basket, they should put the urn into a pit . . . with ' Go to thy mother earth,' " etc. (R. V. x. 18, 10).

8. " With the following (verse) (R. V. x. 18, 11) Earth, let his breath rise upward, etc. (he should throw earth on it ".

9. " After he has done so, (he should repeat) the following verse (' May the earth so lightly rest on him.') " R. V. x. 18. 12.

10. " Having covered (the urn) with a lid with (the verse) ' I heap the earth ' R. V. x. 18. 13, they should then go away ".[4]

[1] Raj Indo-Aryans Vol. II.

[2] A. G. S. etc., S. B. E.

[3] Raj Indo-Aryans Vol II.

[4] A. G. S., S. B. E.

We see from the above that the urn is actually buried while the R. V. x. 18 : 10—13 are being chanted. The persistence of a custom the meaning of which had been forgotten even at the time of the composition of T. A. and A. G. S. is very significant. The ancient Hindus gave up the custom of interment and adopted the practice of cremation, on account of certain causes which will be described later. But the innate conservatism of the people forced them, unconsciously as it were, to preserve certain traits of the old ritual of the burial ceremony. The trench was the most striking feature of the ancient ritual ; hence they retained it in some form. Again, the burial of the dead body was considered necessary for the continued existence of the dead man. Therefore, they buried the bone relics after the ceremony of cremation, in spite of the fact that there was no compelling necessity to do so. A. G. S. 5, 6 clearly shows that considerable attention was paid in arranging the bones in human form. So far, it has been shown that even at one time the ancient Hindus were accustomed to bury the dead ; but the common Vedic practice was to burn them. What were the causes that made the ancient Hindus relinquish an old custom and adopt a new one in its place ? This question is closely bound up with their beliefs concerning the future life. It is, therefore, necessary, to examine these beliefs closely.

(2)

The religion of Vedic Hindus, so far as it can be gleaned from this hymn, consists of two layers of faith, one earlier, and the other later. The former consists of the worship of the departed ancestors, and even the latter describes the faith in its more advanced form, the faith in the higher beings who generally dwelt in the atmosphere and the sky. I shall now proceed to examine these two strata of primitive Vedic faith. R. V. x. 18, 1 recognizes two paths that were opened to the dead : the path of death and the path of the gods. "*Pauam mrityo anuparêhi panthām yas té sva itarô dévayātan.*" "By that (path) which is thine own and distinct from the path of gods". "By a different path," Are we to understand by these two paths, the *pitriyāna* and the *devayāna* which were made familiar by the later schools of philosophy ? There is no reason why we should identify the *mrityo panthám* and the *devayatam* with the *pitriyāna* and the *devayāna* respectively. In the first place, the terms connoting "path" have not become fixed in their technical sense in R. V. x. 18. Though the hymn mentions two paths, two different words are employed to describe "path." These are *pantham* and *yatan*, neither of them is the same in its import as the later '*yāna*.' The later two paths were, no doubt, dimly understood. They were still in a formative stage. In course of time, however, thought became more solidified ; the nomenclature which technically described the two paths became fixed : hence the *pitriyāna* and *devayāna* supplanted the earlier terms. Secondly, the *mrtyopantham* is not the same as the *pitriyāna*. The former is the path of Death, while as the latter leads to a life of bliss. It is not, therefore, reasonable to suppose that composer of R. V. x. 18 used *mrtyopantham* to describe *pitriyāna*.

The existence of a third path, however, is dimly hinted at in vs. 10, which contains a prayer to the earth requesting her to protect the deceased from the

proximity of the evil-being, " may she protect thee from the proximity of the evil being, Nirriti !" Now, who is this, Nirriti ? And why is the earth requested to protect the dead man from her ? The name of this goddess occurs, so far as I am aware, twice in R. V. I, twice in, II, once in III, twice in IV, twice in V, thrice in VII, once in VIII, and eight times in X. In all these cases, she has been described by a large number of scholars as 'the goddess of destruction.' Sāyana invariably calls her the 'Papadevata.' It will be shown presently that the path of death did not mean utter annihilation. It involved, in fact, a sort of ghostly existence in the grave, which was dependant upon the preservation of the body. The earth is requested, as I have already pointed out, to protect the dead man from the proximity of the evil being ; that is, she is asked to keep the dead body in tact in the grave, and prevent Nirriti, the personification of destruction from reducing the dead body to dust. Therefore the path of Nirriti appears to be the third. There are the two extreme paths, one of great hope (the path of the Gods), and another of utter annihilation (the path of Nirriti) ; and between the two extremes, there is the intermediate third path (the path of *mrityu.*)

Having determined the three paths, I shall next examine the condition of those that follow the path of death. Death did not mean the same thing to the Vedic people as it does to us. To us, death means the extinction of the living principle in us ; but to Vedic Hindus, death did not extinguish the life completely. No doubt, all the ordinary human activities came to an end with death. A radical change came over the body. That was all. The dead person was supposed to have consciousness of a kind ; he could still feel, but he could no longer exercise his powers of expression ; it was lost to him at death. The earth was requested to treat the dead man with consideration.

11. " Earth, let his breath rise upward (easily) ; oppress him not ; be easy of access to him ; treat him kindly ; even as a mother covers her son with the end of her garment, so do ye, earth, cover him."

12. " May the earth so lightly rest upon him that his breath may ascend . . . . . may these homes be ever sprinkled with clarified butter ; may they for all time be his asylum."

13. " I heap the earth upon thee and, placing this clod of earth, may I not hurt thee." . . . (R. V. X.)

From these passages it is clear that the dead body was not considered as so much inert matter incapable of feeling sensations ; it had some sort of life, for it was supposed to breath even in the grave. It was expected to feel the pressure of the earth, and it could be hurt by a clod. The dead man would feel hunger, and he was offered continuous libations of clarified butter. He would hear and understand what the people told him. Hence they assured him that the earth was a maiden as soft as wool. The people were, nevertheless, afraid of the ghosts of the dead ; therefore they were asked to live permanently in their houses, the graves. In order to prevent any recalcitrant ghost from passing the limits of the grave, they took certain precautions. I "place this barrier (of stones) for the living, on this account that no other may go beyond it ;" moreover if Dr. Whitney

is correct in his interpretation of verse 2, then we have another instance of the fear of the dead. "Ye who death's foot have clogged." Thus the dead were not expected to leave their graves. Moreover, the concern of the people that the body should not come into contact with Nirriti, shows clearly that the preservation of the body was considered indispensable for the continued existence of the spirit or ghost. The pitris and Yama were asked to grant an abode to the dead man here.

This was the belief of the Hindus concerning future life in the early days of Rigveda. This faith is certainly primitive as similar beliefs prevailed among other Indo-Aryan communities in very early times.[1] To take only one example,—among the Greeks, "the spirit of the dead man was held to be in close attendance on his body, and followed his remains where they were carried . . . it was believed that the soul of the dead retained its bodily feelings and appetites. The dead, therefore, required to be supplied with food daily or at longer intervals. The food for the dead was usually a pelenos of meal, honey, and oil, or a drink offering of blood." . . . ' Again, "as the dead needed both food and raiment, as in life, so it was only natural that their final abode should resemble the house which they had occupied on this side of the grave." [2]

There is a reference to 'pitris' in vs. 13 of R.V. x. 18. These were required to grant the dead man an abode in the grave. The pitris were the spirits of the departed ancestors, and they must have lived in the graveyard itself, for Vedic people, as we have seen, were very particular in circumscribing the sphere of their activity. We have no justification for supposing that their world was situated elsewhere.

So far, I have dealt with only one stratum of primitive religion that is revealed by R. V. x. 18 : Let us now turn to the other. It consisted, as I have already mentioned, of the worship of deities that were supposed to dwell in the atmosphere. The hymn does not throw much light upon the worship of these gods. There are four gods that are mentioned in the hymn. In the first place we find the goddess Dhatri in vs. 5. Here she is said "to regulate the lives' of men. One day follows another regularly ; it does not come either before or after its appointed time. All the seasons follow one another in regular succession. Not a season comes a day or an hour before or after its appointed time. This is true of all the natural phenomena. It must also be true in the case of men. Why should it be different ? Why should men die before their time, and allow their sons to succeed them prematurely ? This task of arranging the succession in proper time is entrusted to the goddess Dhatri ; "May Dhatri, regulate the lives of these (my kinsmen)."

The god Tvashtri is mentioned in v. 6. He is said to be the creator of "fair things"; moreover, the gift of prolonged existence is supposed to come from the hand of this god. "May Tvashtar, maker of fair things, be gracious, and lengthen out the days of your existence." I have already described the nature of the other goddess Nirriti ; Yama and Pitris will be taken into consideration in a different context. It is to be doubted whether Yama was as yet considered a god, for

[1] E. R. E. Vol. II, article *Aryans*.

[2] Ridgeway : *Early Greece*.

even in the hymns that belonged to a much later period, he is described simply as a king.

(3)

R. V. x. 18, 1 mentions, as has already been pointed out, two paths, the *mṛthyo panthāin* and *devayātan* which the people were expected to follow after their demise. I have already said enough of the former ; it now remains for me to describe the latter. The hymn does not give us more information regarding the 'path of the gods,' than merely alluding to its existence unless we take with Rajendralal the second verse as refering to it. He appears to be right in thinking that it describes the 'path of the gods.' According to him men become "fully possessed of prolonged existence" after "giving up the path of death." The prolonged existence appears to be the direct consequence of the abandonment of the path of death. That, however, is only a negative qualification for starting on the path of the Gods. The hymn calls them "performers of sacrifice". I think that I am justified in taking this as a positive qualification. In the first place, the followers of the path of the gods must abandon the path of death. Secondly, they should be "performers of sacrifices." This becomes very clear by a study of some other hymns of the Rig Veda.

There are two classes of beings who are supposed to have achieved godhood as the fruit of their meritorious deeds. In the first class are included (*a*) the Ribhus, and (*b*) the Angirases, who were originally human. The Rudras and the Adityas come under the second ; they are described as mortals, who obtained immortality, and godhood in virtue of their deeds. Both classes were, therefore, originally mortal. Of the Ribhus, it is said,—that they "were the three sons of Sudhanvan, a descendant . . . of Angiras, severally named Ribhu, Vibhu, and Vaja, and styled collectively, from the name of the elder." [1] Their achievements are described in R. V. i. 20 ; verse 8 of the hymn describes their chief qualification for becoming gods. "Offerers (of sacrifices) they held (a mortal's existence) ; by their pious acts, they obtained a share of sacrifices with the gods." But this was not the only qualification ; they won the favour of the gods by rendering them many useful services.

As a result of all these good actions,— ". . . the exhilarating juices are offered to you along with Indra attended by the Maruts, and along with the brilliant Adityas." R. V. iv. 35 gives a similar account of them.

The Angirases were a priestly family. It is this family that is, according to the Anukramani, responsible for the composition of Book IX of the Rig Veda. The Angirases play a prominent part in the Atharva Veda. They are one of the two important families from whom that Veda originated. This fact has been very well expressed by calling it the Veda of the Atharvangirasah. The Angirases are said to have been the descendants of a single Angiras. R. V. x. 62 speaks of them as "the sons of Angiras." They are spoken of as "fathers" in x. 62, 2 ; R. V. I 62, 2 calls them "our sires, Angiras [2]". In x. 14, 3 the Angirases are specially connected with Yama. From these references, two points become clear :

[1] Wilson : R. V.

[2] Cf. Macdonnel : *Vedic Mythology*.

In the first place, they were originally human beings; and secondly, they attained godhood. R. V. x. 62, 1 tells us that they "have acquired the friendship of Indra and immortality;" and it was the sacrifice that secured them both. The Angiras is looked upon as a typical sacrificer in Vedic literature. People often declare they have performed the sacrifice even as Angiras (angirasvat).

The Maruts are generally described as the sons of Rudra, and Prishni, and the associates of Indra; but there are certain allusions in the Veda which dimly point to their human origin. R. V. I 62, 3: "Inasmuch, Agni, as the pure (Maruts) worshipped thee, (equally) pure, with clarified butter, for three years, therefore, they acquired the names, worthy (to be repeated) at sacrifices, and being regenerated obtained celestial bodies."

On this verse Wilson has the following note: "The text has only 'Suyachah' the pure: the scholiast supplies the Maruts, for whom it is said, seven platters are placed at the Agnicayana ceremony. . . . . In consequence of this participation with Agni, of sacrificial offerings, they exchanged their perishable, for immortal bodies, and obtained heaven. The Maruts are therefore, like the Ribhus,—deified mortals." (R. V. Vol. 1. p. 190). Griffith also, in a foot note to his translation of the hymn quotes Wilson, evidently with approval.

The Adityas are said to be the sons of Aditi, the personification of unlimited space. Some of the great gods, of the Vedic Pantheon are termed Adityas. But there are certain dark hints in the Veda which create in our minds a suspicion that they must have been at one time human. R. V. i. 62, 9 gives us the following information regarding them. "Thou hast been fed (Agni with oblations), ever since the Adityas, devising a road to immortality, instituted all (the sacred rites) that secured, and mother earth, Aditi, strove with her magnitude to uphold (the world) along with her mighty sons."

"The text has," says Wilson, '*Ye viśwā śwapatyāni*,' interpreted by Sāyaṇa '*Sobhanāny apalanahetubhūtāni*,' which were the prosperous causes of not falling that is to say, certain acts which secured the Adityas their station in heaven, or that immortality the way to which they had made or devised. The interpretation is based upon a Taittiriya text: 'The Adityas desirous of heaven (*suvarga* or *svarga*) said let us go down to the earth.' They beheld there that (*shat trinsadrātra*) rite of thirty-six nights. They secured it, and sacrificed with it." R.V. Vol. 1, p. 193—4).

The truth or the falsity of the legends that are described above, is not a matter of great importance. What we should really value in them is the idea that lies behind them all. They recognise the possibility of men becoming gods, provided that they perform the necessary sacrifices and render useful service to the gods. But this way of attaining immortality was not open to men whose means did not permit them to undertake the performance of costly sacrifice. The Rig Veda appears to be clear on this point,—"Not without toil gods are inclined to friendship." It is clear now that R. V. x, 18 knows two places where the dead are supposed to go: the realm of the dead which is upon the earth, and the world of the gods which is in the sky. There is, however, no co-ordination as yet between

the lower and the upper worlds. The former is entirely isolated from the latter; it resembles the Greek Hades more closely than anything else I know. It appears to me that the world of the dead is an earlier conception than the world of the gods which is a later imposition upon an earlier set of beliefs. We are here introduced to a transition stage in the beliefs of the ancient Hindus: their original religious ideas appear to be undergoing a transformation; they were no longer content to remain in their permanent abodes on earth. They began to explore the regions above for the purpose of migrating thither at least after death. The *devayātan* of R.V. x 18 is like a sign post pointing to two roads going in opposite directions. On the one hand it points to the ages when the idea of a heavenly world was not known; and on the other it shows the path which leads to a future age when it would become a matter of common knowledge. It is noteworthy that we hear nothing of souls in this connection; they are not yet born. But human thought knows no halting place when it is fairly launched on a voyage to explore unknown shores. It goes on from discovery to discovery, never allowing itself to rest.

(4)

It has been shown that Vedic Hindus, in very early times, buried their dead. though it had to give place in latter times to the universal custom of cremation. What were the causes that brought about this change? Many theories are offered to explain how the change has taken place, though none of them is satisfactory. It has been sometimes suggested that the climatic conditions of India were not suitable for the continuance of a custom, which was said to be specially suitable to cold climates. This explanation is so very absurd that it does not deserve a critical examination. If any evidence to disprove it is necessary, enough of it is found in the existence of graves belonging to what may be termed as prehistoric times all over Southern India. What then, were the causes which induced the Aryans to adopt the practice of burning the dead? The answer to this question lies in the religious beliefs of the people.

The ancient Hindus divided the whole visible universe into three divisions: the earth, the atmosphere, and the sky. The many gods whom they worshipped were divided into three classes corresponding to the threefold division of the universe. Savitar or the sun was the most important deity in the sky, Indra in the atmosphere, and Agni upon earth. Indra was the most popular of the gods of the Rig Veda; it may also be said that he was the national diety. Agni came next; and all the rest came after him. Sacrifices were offered to the gods; a large number of them took the form of soma-libations to Indra and other gods. But Agni did not play a prominent part in the soma sacrifices. In course of time, however, on account of some causes which are not known at present, Agni rose in popularity, and an Agni cult was soon developed. He who played but a secondary part in early times, grew stronger, and stronger, until at last he became identified with Prajapati himself. The germs of this Agni cult are distinctly discernible even in the Rig Veda. These are developed into the overwhelming symbolism of Yajurveda, and the Brahmanas. "The complicated ritual of the fire-altar," says

Eggling, "as has been pointed out before, does not seem to have formed part of the original sacrificial system, but was probably developed independent of it, and incorporated with it at a comparatively recent period." [1] That this is so is clearly proved by a comparative study of the mythologies of the Rig and Yajurvedas. All the gods of the Rig Veda make their appearance in the Yajurveda ; but their power and importance are not the same. Some deities who were very powerful in the elder Veda decline in importance in the younger Veda, and *vice versa.* Indra and soma were no longer the favourite deities of the nation. It was Agni, the great friend of man.

In order to understand how the development of the Agni cult led to the change in the social habits of the people, it is necessary to know the nature of Agni himself. The term "messenger" is very commonly applied to him in the Rig Veda. He was the messenger of the gods that carried messages from gods to men and men to gods. He was generally looked upon as a link that connected heaven and earth. People living in distant localities could communicate with one another only by employing messengers. How, then, could men, the dwellers of the terrestrial globe, keep up any sort of intercourse with gods who were living in the sky, unless they could command the services of a good messenger ? This messenger, men found in Agni. They must have had some excellent reason for letting their choice fall upon Agni rather than any one else. Agni in fact, possessed certain characteristics which qualified him in a very peculiar way to carry on this work. Though a terrestrial deity, he was supposed to be present in the other two regions into which the universe was divided. As Agni, the deity presiding over the family hearth, he was present in almost every Aryan household. As lightning, (Indra) he was present in the atmosphere ; and as the sun the great luminary of the sky, he was present in the heavens. This fact is clearly brought out in R.V. x, 56, 1.

"Here is the one light for thee (*i.e.*, Agni), another yonder (*i.e.*, in the firmament) : enter the third (*i.e.*, the light in the highest region above the firmament), and be therewith united."

That Agni and the sun are identical is shown by R.V. v, 6, 4. "We kindle thee O Agni, brilliant, O God, undying, so that thy more glorious torch may shine in the sky." It is also said that it was the Agni in the sun that descended upon the earth in the form of lightning. "This is the thunderbolt which often whirleth down from the lofty misty realm of svarga." (R.V. x, 27, 21).

The presence of Agni in all the three regions of the universe became a matter of common observation. Not only that : he was also actually seen coming down from heaven to earth. Again the flames of the fire rose up towards the sky ; and the smoke, caused by the burning fire, ascended to the sky from the earth. Agni descended upon the earth from the sun in the form of lightning ; and as smoke, he ascended to the sky from the earth. Thus the god was seen going to and coming from heaven. Could any one else serve men better ? None, so far as they could see and understand. It was on account of these circumstances that Agni was chosen as messenger to the gods. He was requested to bring the gods to the

[1] S. B. E. Vol. XII, Sat. Br, Introduction.

sacrifices performed by men. He was also asked to carry to the gods, the oblations offered to them by their devotees. Hence he became the *duta* and the *kavyavahana*. When these ideas came to be widely accepted, the importance of the messenger God naturally increased. The road from earth to heaven was thus constructed upon very strong foundations. Henceforth, it was along this road that gods travelled to the earth, and men to heaven.

The discovery of this new path had far-reaching consequences. We are, however, concerned, at present, with its effects upon the religious beliefs of the people, especially on their beliefs regarding the survival of human personality after death. Hitherto, men could not, generally, share the bliss of *svarga*, because they knew no way of reaching it. Now, that Agni had opened the way for them, they felt that they could certainly reach heaven by following the guide, Agni. It was the hope of going to the world of the gods that induced ancient Hindus to give up the habit of interring the dead. This also explains why they consigned the corpse to the flames, though they were considerably pained by it. What was temporary pain compared to immortality and eternal bliss?

R.V. x. 16, 1. "Do not Agni burn up or consume him (the deceased) . . . when thou hast matured him, O Jatavedas, then send him to the fathers.

2. "When thou maturest him, Jatavedas, then consign him to the Fathers. . "

4. " . . . With those forms of thine which are auspicious, convey him (the dead man) to the world of the righteous."

From this it is clear that Agni was the vehicle that carried the spirits of the dead to the other world. An important point must not be lost sight of in this connection. Agni was the *kavyavāhana* that carried to the gods the oblations that were offered to them by men. It was an important part of his duty. Though he consumed everything, there was nothing compelling him to carry it to heaven; but it was otherwise with the oblations which he could not but carry to the gods. It was more or less this process of reasoning which made the people think of cremation as a sacrifice. The dead man himself was the victim; he was offered up in Agni so that he might take him to the gods in heaven.

R.V. x. 16. 5. "Give up, Agni, to the fathers, him who comes offered to thee with oblations. . . ."

Here, the idea appears in its undeveloped state; but in later Vedic literature, it was fully developed. The cremation ceremony is generally called *anthyeshti* or the last sacrifice, that is to say the sacrifice of the dead body in the fire.

A.V. xviii. 13. "The sacrifice goes, extended, adapting itself (? klip) [taking] him who hath sacrificed unto the heavenly (*svarga*) world; let the fires enjoy it, made a whole oblation; let the Jatavedases making done here him that is Prajapatis [and] sacrificial, not throw him down."

* * * * *

15. "Agni thine invoker, Brihaspati thine officiating priest, be Indra on the right thy supervising priest (Brahma); this offered sacrifice, being completed (Samsthita) goeth where is the ancient tract of those offered."[1]

It is clear, therefore, that "to burn the body of a deceased person was accordingly an act of solemn sacrifice which made Agni its bearer to the other world, the future dwelling of its former possesser.[2] "*Jātasamskārane 'mam lokam abhijayati*; *mṛtasamskarenā, 'mum lokam*," says Bandhāyana in Caland quoted by Lanman. The body that is offered in this fashion is carried by Agni according to Vaj Sam. xviii. to heaven assuming the form of a bird.

Vaj Sam. xviii. "with power, with butter, I attach Agni, the celestial bird, mighty in energy: through him may we go to the sphere of the sun, ascending the sky to the highest heaven."[3]

The movement that destroyed the isolation of heaven and paved the way for a vigorous intercourse between earth and heaven had also resulted in the transportation of the fathers from the world of the graveyard to the heavenly world. The path to heaven was open; it was within the reach of all. It would have been absurd still to allow the fathers to remain upon earth. Therefore they were sent thither. To this new world of the fathers, men went after their death.

The place to which the fathers had been transported is the world of Savitri. There are two good reasons which prompted Vedic Indians in their choice of a new abode of the fathers. In the first place, it is the world of the gods. R.V. ix. 113, 7 locates it "in the third sphere of inmost heaven . . . . . in the region of the golden sun. . . ." This is the world of Vishnu. One of the Vedic poets exclaims,

> "May I attain to that his (Vishnu's) well-loved mansion
> Where men devoted to the gods are happy (I. 154, 5)."

It is to this world that men repaired after their death. Secondly, the god Agni has some special reasons for leading the dead to the world of Savitri. The great luminary that shines in the sky is Agni himself. According to x. 88. 6, "Agni is by night the head of the earth; then he is born as the sun rising in the morning." Therefore, Agni carries the deceased persons to his own world. This idea is more clearly expressed in Taittiriya Brahmana. "One man departing from this world "knows himself this is I myself." Another does not recognize his own world. Bewildered by Agni, and overcome by smoke, he does not recognize his own world. Now he who knows this Agni-Sāvitra, when he departs from this world knows himself, 'that this I myself.' He recognizes his own world. This Savitra carries him to the heavenly world."[4]

The co-ordination between the world of the gods and that of the departed ancestors is thus brought about. It may be pointed out in this connection that the migration of the fathers to the world of the sun marks the union of two different strands in the faith of the ancient Hindus. The earliest religion of the Aryans consisted of the worship of the spirits of the dead. The gods who peopled the

[1] Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 8.
[2] Ibid. note by Lanman.
[3] Muir, O.S.T. Vol. V.
[4] Ibid.

svarga came into existence later. That is why that until a comparatively late period, there was no connection between *svarga* and the world of the fathers. In course of time, with the advance of speculative thought, Vedic thinkers attempted to bridge the gulf that kept the two worlds in complete isolation. Throughout the Vedic age, the process of unification was going on, and it was not completed before the birth of what is generally known as the epic age, when the fathers were ultimately raised to the dignity of gods.

(6)

It has been made clear so far, that Vedic Hindus believed in the survival of human personality after death. I shall now proceed to examine what it involved. The Ribhus and Angirases were admitted into heaven, on account of the special grace shown to them by the gods. They cannot help us very much in our inquiry. We are obliged to restrict ourselves to the cases of ordinary mortals. R.V. x. 18 gives us the earliest picture of life after death, which is by no means spiritual. It is, on the contrary, grossly material and rigidly bound to the earth. The spirit is inseparably associated with the body, and it cannot always be said to be independent of the living members of the family.

The introduction of cremation gave, no doubt, a certain amount of freedom to the spirit. It was allowed to stray beyond the precincts of the grave-yard. It is natural to expect some change in its nature. The body is destroyed once for all at the burning ghat, and the spirit has to shift for itself. R. V. x, 58, 59, describe a soul that it has severed its connection with the body. A few verses are enough to serve as samples :—x. 58, 1. "Thy soul which went far away to Yama Vaivasvata, we turn it back here to dwell and to live." . . . . . "

9. "Thy soul which went far away to the sun and the dawn, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

10. "Thy soul which went far away into the distant distances, we turn it back here to dwell and to live."

From these, two points become clear : the separation of the soul from the body is complete ; moreover, it can wander away from the body while it is still intact. It may appear from this that the soul is a spiritual entity ; but it is not so, the old 'spirit' idea still persists. It remains still the exact counterpart of the body. If the body were to lose a part, a limb, the spirit would lack that part, that limb. We have in x. 16, 7.

"What wound soever the black bird hath inflicted, the emmet, or the serpent, or the jackal,

May Agni who devoureth all things heal it, and Soma who hath passed into the Brahmans."

The soul, therefore, still retains all the essential qualities of the grave haunting spirit of x. 18 ; though it has acquired freedom to pass beyond the limits of the 'stone-circle' (x. 18, 4) erected around the grave to separate the dead from the living. The same idea is found in A. V. xviii. 4, 12 ; [1]

[1] Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 8.

"Let the fires, kindled, take hold happily: let Jatavedases, making done (*crita*) hear him that is Prajapati's [and] sacrificial, not throw him down."

The dead man's spirit is expected to go to the fathers with all its limbs. In R. V. 2, 24, it is said,—" Let nothing whatever of thy mind, nor of thy life (*asir*) nor of thy members, nor of thy sap, nor of thy body, be left here."

Whatever that is left undone by Agni in the way of the restoration of the limbs of the dead man's body, his eldest son must make good. Thus we have in A.V.4, 64,—[1]

"What one limb of you Agni Jatavedas left when making you go to the fathers' world, that same for you, I fill up again; revel ye, O Fathers in heaven (*svarga*) with all your limbs."

"The importance", in the words of Whitney, ". . of having every member of the body carried by Agni to the other world for use in the next life is abundantly shown",[2] by the texts that are cited above. They also show with equal clearness the non-spiritual character of the soul. If the soul is grossly material, the world to which it goes to live is not less so.

(7)

The *svarga* or heaven is situated in the highest of the three regions into which ancient Hindus had divided the universe. This region is itself subdivided into three parts. According to R. V. v. 60, 6, the fathers dwell "in highest midmost, or in lowest heaven." The highest region is known only to Vishnu. "Thou god knowest the highest also." (R. V. vii 99, 1). It is the world of Vishnu; to this world the spirits of the dead travel; Yama revels here in the company of the fathers. According to R. V. ix. 113, " in that realm . . dwells the king, Vivasvan's son', where he, 'drinketh with the gods'. He is 'the father, master of the house', that 'tendeth with love our ancient sires'. (x. 135, 1).

We have a very good description of heaven in R. V. ix. 113. In the world of *svarga*, "the light of heaven is set and everlasting lustre shines" (7); "it is full of light;" (9) here "is the secret shrine of heaven where are those waters young and fresh." (8) There is neither death nor decay (1); "food and delight are plentiful: this is the realm of eager wish and strong desire." (10) "All wishes are here satisfied"; "joys and felicities combine"; "happiness and transports" are experienced (11) The gods who dwell in this region seem to live in palaces. The guerdon giver's house is "like the gods' palaces adorned and splendid."

The gods and the fathers enjoy a glorious life in heaven. They have plenty to eat and drink. There is much revelry (R. V. x. 135, 1). "The ministrels blow the flute for him (Yama); here he is glorified with songs" (7); "the meath flows forth" for him (R. V. x. 154, 1). Over an assembly of gods and fathers, the two kings Varuna and Yama preside. X. 56, 3 promises the company of "yearning maidens" to Bṛhadukta in heaven.

This appears to be the normal activity in heaven. What are the qualifications which men should possess in order to gain admission to heaven? There is much speculation regarding the heavenly franchise. R. V. x. 154, 2 gives us a good specimen. The claims of "those whom fervour (*tapas*) hath advanced to heaven" come

[1] Harvard Oriental Series, Vol 7. [2] Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 8.

first. Next come "the heroes who contended in the war, and boldly cast their lives away," and lastly, "the first followers of the law, laws pure and holy strengtheners . . ." take their place. R. V. x. 107 urges on our attention the claims of another set of people. They are the men whose "great bounty hath been manifested." They are said to have set free the world from darkness. The composers of the hymns have, in fact, a soft corner in their hearts for the guerdon givers. They extol "the donors of (pious) gifts" (R. V. 1,125, 6); they promise them ease and comfort "upon the firmament of heaven".

(8)

To summarise,—

It has been shown that the primitive Aryans were accustomed to bury the dead; and that the graveyard was the ultimate destiny of the spirits of the dead. It was, in even fact, here that the fathers dwelt, and they were not expected to leave their clay abode under ordinary circumstances; but all people were not destined to end their existence in the graveyard. There were a few men who were admitted to live in heaven in the company of the gods. In order to secure admission into heaven, they had to qualify themselves by performing costly sacrifices. Thus there were two places to which the spirits of the dead departed. There was, however, no co-ordination between *svarga* and the world of the spirits of the dead. The gods and the fathers were living in two completely isolated worlds. It was the god Agni that destroyed this isolation for the first time, and established some sort of intercourse between the two worlds. He became the recognised messenger between men and gods; and he carried to the gods, the oblations offered to them by men. Men wanted to utilise the services of the divine messenger and guide to lead the spirits of the dead to the world of the gods. The best way of securing his help was to offer the dead body itself as a supreme sacrifice The body and the spirit were inseparable. Thus all would go to heaven. This was how the custom of cremating the dead originated. The practice of cremation did not fundamentally affect the nature of the spirit. It was gross and remained closely connected with the body. The *svarga* where the spirits went was equally gross; and we do not come across the over-refined soul of the Upanishads and philosophic schools in the Vedas.

Editorial Notes

THE BARROWS LECTURES FOR 1925 were delivered in the Anderson Hall in February by the Rev. Charles W. Gilkey, M.A., B.D., of Chicago. The subject of the course of lectures was JESUS, and it is seldom that the public of Madras has enjoyed the privilege of hearing the claims of Jesus portrayed more winsomely and attractively than by Mr. Gilkey. That Madras people realised the fact was evident by the growing number of people who waited upon his words, until the last evening when Anderson Hall was crowded by a larger throng of eager listeners than ever before. Every evening there were many who were so deeply interested in his message that they stood, and the last evening some hundreds stood throughout the hour, the seating capacity being taxed far beyond its limits. We have seldom seen people more quietly attentive, and seldom seen less disturbance from people moving throughout the address. If we think seriously concerning the reasons why the public of Madras was so stirred by this message, we shall have to confess that there are two which stand out pre-eminently. One was the personal charm and power of the lecturer. It is most difficult to analyse precisely wherein lies Mr. Gilkey's power. For one thing it is a simplicity and directness which makes him appealing, even to high school boys. For another thing, it is a certain intimacy which very soon springs up between the lecturer and his hearers. Each man feels as though Mr. Gilkey were addressing him personally. Further, there is a sincerity that is born of a great experience of religion that commands attention. Then, too, he came as a spokesman of the younger generation, and few men are able to feel the pulse of the present generation and prescribe for its ills so skilfully as this doctor of souls.

The other reason for the appeal of the Barrows Lectures of 1925 was the great subject. The thoughtful people of India have been turning in increasing numbers during the past few years to Jesus as the One who can answer the calls of a weary, muddled world. They are beginning to see past the organised religion which looks to Jesus as its founder to the Man himself. Not alone in India, but the world over the demand is growing that nothing—not a creed, nor a doctrine, nor an institution, nor a ritual—can be permitted to obstruct the view of Jesus. Added to that there is a conviction among many Indians that they as easterners can perhaps understand Jesus better than some westerners whose interpretations of him have been much alloyed by outworn traditions. Be that as it may, India is evidently to-day interested in Jesus, and Mr. Gilkey brought to us an interpretation that was virile, fresh, arresting. It was not theological, and injured the sensibilities of none. But it was eminently practical. He helped us to rediscover Jesus, and to see how He alone can satisfy the most profound longings of the human heart. He transcends all racial and all creedal bounds, and Indians, Americans and Englishmen alike are ready to do homage to the man of Galilee. In Him we see the glorious possibilities of humanity, and in Him we learn what God is like. God shone through Him

into the soul of man even as the Sun shines through the luminous rays which enter our windows. It was a great presentation of a greater subject, and Madras will not soon forget it.

A MATTER OF NO SMALL IMPORTANCE FOR INDIA'S FUTURE is dealt with in Dr. Gour's Bill for raising the "age of consent." In an outspoken letter to the members of the Select Committee on behalf of the Women's Indian Association Mrs Jinarajadasa protests against the proposal to reduce the age as given in the Bill from 14 to 13, and remarks that it ought to be 15. She points out the ironic contrast between India's appeal to the world to be recognised as fit for the most modern type of of government and the attitude of her legislators on this great moral and social question. We desire to cast any weight the Magazine possesses on the same side. Dr. Gour's proposal is a modest instalment of much-needed reform. But the value of every year added to the girlhood of the mothers of the future before they are expected to accept the duties of marriage is incalculable. One of the outstanding features in the history of public health in England, as shown by the vital statistics during the last hundred years or so, is the increase of the duration of life. How much of this is due to the concurrent advance of the typical age of marriage from about 18 to about 23 it is impossible to estimate with precision; but there can be no doubt that it is considerable. If India is to be endowed with a healthy and virile population, equal to the increasing pressure of life, it is imperative that her young womanhood shall be given the best chance of growing up strong and healthy.

What bars the way? Custom—that, and nothing more. We have not seen anywhere a single argument against Dr. Gour's proposal on its merits. The Select Committee has no objection to it as in itself bad: it simply says (or rather the majority says) it cannot be done. It is high time that India re-considered the obligation of custom. No Englishman with a sense of his own country's past will lightly speak of custom with disrespect. To a greater extent than is commonly realised we all live under the guidance of custom. Where there is no other light to guide us, it is well to accept the control of custom: it is better than none. But it is not the part of a man to follow custom against the light. Hygiene and humanity here speak in no uncertain tone. If the only thing to be said in favour of a practice is that it is old, that it is our custom, if we cannot say that it is also good, it is time to make a change. The question we would urge on every reader of the Magazine, every *alumnus* of the College, is this—Is there a single good reason why this particular custom should not go? If, as we believe, there is not one, their part is clear.

IT IS WELCOME NEWS THAT THE IMPERIAL BUDGET makes it possible to give some relief to Provincial funds by a reduction of the contributions to be demanded of certain provinces. Madras is to benefit by 126 lakhs of rupees, her quota being reduced to 348 lakhs. Why Bengal, though not to receive a subvention, is not asked to make any payment at all, has yet to be made clear. Of the amount thus

placed at the disposal of our own Government it is anticipated that a large sum will be placed as is just at the disposal of the Minister in charge of Education. We presume that a first charge on this much-needed grant will be the redemption of Government's outstanding promises—which have been in danger of becoming a by-word—of grants " if and when funds are available." It is to be hoped also that as in the lean years grants for such things as purchase of books were cut down, so now in the year of plenty the share borne by Government will be correspondingly generous. The cost of books, like most other things, has greatly increased since the War, and Colleges are hard put to it even to maintain their libraries. If there is to be an improvement in them, without which we cannot hope for much educational advance, it is a matter of urgency that Government shall at least fulfil its recognised responsibility for a " half-grant."

The historian's interest in the past is not the economist's or the philosopher's interest in it. He loves the past for its own sake and tries to live in it, tries to live over again the lost life of yesterday, turning it back as one would turn back the pages of a book to re-read what was gone before ; and he seeks to see the past as a far-country and to think himself into a different world. And so the use that he makes of the accumulated facts that tell about the past is to re-capture a by-gone age and turn it into something that is at once a picture and a story.

History, then, means the world looking back upon itself, and storing up memories that are pictures. History is any tale that the old world can tell when it starts remembering. It is just the world's memory.

The love of the past for its own sake, and the fondness for lingering over those things that endure as relics or as symbols of the past, and the regret for the things that are lost for ever are what one might call romanticism. Gibbon and Gregorovius had this feeling when the sight of the splendid ruins of Rome drove them to look into the story that lay behind monument and masonry, and to be writers of history. All of us have this feeling when the glimpse of some historic town, or the impressive sternness of an old castle, or the sight of a Roman wall awakens a world in our minds, and sets it thinking on all the tales that stone could tell if only it could speak the history that it stores. These buildings and remains are the maimed survivals, the broken emblems, of a vivid thrilling life that has been lived, and that we love to look back upon. Distance lends enchantment, and the things of long-ago draw us with their strangeness, and with a far-away picturesque glamour that surrounds them ; and there is just the escape that we seek from modern life, in the possibility that we have of thinking ourselves into a different world, which we can suffuse with a romantic glow and which we can think of as having more colour and adventure than our own world. But most of all, the reason why we love the ruins of an abbey, and preserve the flags that are riddled with the bullets of Waterloo—the reason why we prize the book in the mar ins of which Coleridge himself scribbled pencil-notes of literary criticism, and keep a lock of Keats's hair, is that these things are like the stray flowers that cheat the scythe or like the last stars that outdare the morning sun ; they are the few things that are saved from a shipwreck. The work of a historian is to reconstruct the past out of the debris that is cast up by the sea from the wrecks of countless ages.

Romanticism is at bottom a sigh for the things that perish, and the things that can never happen again. It is like the soldier going over the hill to fight, but always looking back and lingering. The things that time destroys we love with a love fed by romantic regret—the sunset that will never just happen again, the snows of yester-year, the beliefs that are being sapped, the days of our own childhood. When we know a thing must die, something comes to reinforce our love for it, and if we were all told to take our last look upon this earth to-morrow, what worst of world-haters would not ask again and again for "just one peep more"? Universal literature is full of regrets for all the lovely things that die. All history is full ot movements that are born of romantic reactions—of prophets stoned on one day and mourned on the next, of rejected leaders idolised when they

have passed off the stage and soon carried to power again by a mad romantic impulse that moves the peoples, of kings beheaded and then loved when they have become a memory, of Restorations, of returns from Elba, and of Jacobite risings. All this is romanticism and it is romanticism that makes old men gather round a chimney-corner fo tell a tale of old times, and makes hardened heroes love to fight their battles over again.

To the politician the important movements and striking decisions and big crises that for him are 'history,' are thing within reach; the military man has not much difficulty in recovering the noisy things that for him are 'history'; court and camp and parliament house are rich with documents and records; the things that are played out in the limelight, the stately public events are in a way simple to the historian, and the men who talk of democracies and regiments and alliances, and who think of people in the mass and can find good in statistics and budgets—these can discuss the condition of England and the welfare of the people. But they are far from life. Now the "huts where poor men die" elude the world memory. The most homely and intimate and personal things slip through the hands of the historian. The history that the romanticist in us longs for, the desire to touch the pulsing heart of men who toyed with the world as we do, and left it long ago, is the quest for the most elusive thing in the world.

History can only make her pictures and rebuild the past out of the things she can save from a shipwreck; she will piece together just so much of the battle of Agincourt as the sea washes up to the shores. The memory of the world is not a bright shining crystal, but a heap of broken fragments, a few fine flashes of light that break through the darkness. And so history is full of tales half-told, and of tunes that break off in the middle. All history is full of locked doors, and of faint glimpses of things that cannot be reached.

When Carlyle, in the middle of a rugged description of the taking of the Bastille, can break away to apostrophise in a way that is sublime,

'Oh evening sun of July, how, at this hour, thy beams fall slant on reapers amid peaceful woody fields; on old women spinning in cottages; on ships far out in the silent main' . . . he is doing something, he is catching the moment in a way that can be seldom achieved in history, unless history brings in fiction to help her. History then fails the romanticist. Its shortcomings become apparent when we try to particularise, when we say we wish to see a definite picture. About the closest human things, history only tells us enough to set us guessing and wondering.

The history of text-books, the history that can be made out of the recoverable facts of the past, is really little more than a chart to the past. . . Because of this history cannot come so near to human hearts and human passions as a good novel can; its very fidelity to facts makes it not perhaps less true to life, but further away from the heart of things All the real history of people that a text-book could give is like a chart of Treasure Island just enough to set a wild heart dreaming; the chart gives generalities, it describes the lie of the land, but if we wish to *see* a picture of Treasure Island we must make the chart the jumping-off

board for some play of the imagination. We must do the kind of thinking that is needed to turn a map into a picture, the kind of thinking that might translate last year's National Budget into a drama of hearts and homes.

It is in this that there lies the first justification of the historical novel, and one way of giving that particular kind of literature a relation to experience.

History is full of events and issues out of which a story could be made, and of adventures that are exciting enough ; it is not wanting in incident, but these things are not stories, they have to be transmuted into story ; for there are irrecoverable things in history, and these are the close intimate personal things, the touches of direct experience that are needed in story-making, the things that we most remember in friends we used to have, what might be called "the human touches." In order to catch these things in the life of the past, and to make a by-gone age live again, history must not merely be eked out by fiction, it must not merely be extended by invented episode ; it must be turned into a novel ; it must be 'put to fiction' as a poem is put to music.

The past as it exists for all of us, the world of the past in our minds, is history synthesised by the imagination, and fixed into a picture by something that amounts to fiction. . . The chart must be turned into a picture, if history is to be a recovery of the life of the past and not a mere post-mortem examination. The imagination of the historian does this for him ; the most musty of parchments holds for him a story and speaks to a world that exists in his mind ; but everybody is not a historian ; so historical fiction does the work for all the world ; it fuses the past into a picture, and makes it live.

It is not enough to recover the facts of the lives that men lived long-ago and to trace out the thread of events ; we must recover the adventure of their lives ; and the whole fun and adventure of their lives, as of ours, hung on the fact that at any given moment they could not see a head, and did not know what was coming. . . It is not enough to know that Napoleon won a certain battle ; if history is to come back to us as a human thing we must see him on the eve of battle eagerly looking to see which way the dice will fall, with fears and hesitations perhaps, with a sense of all the things that may happen in spite of all his calculations, and with an uncertainty before all the range of possible things that may upset his plans. . . History does not always give as things like these, for they are irrecoverable personal things ; but we know they existed. They are the things that make life an experience. And they are the very touches that are needed to turn history into a story.

History is not merely a taskmaster to the novelist. Too often, the historical novelist has been spoken of as being hampered by history and tied down by chronological tables. If the historical novelist regards his duty as being to avoid anachronisms, history will seem to him a chain. The different condition of things existing in the period of which he writes will be a source of labour to him, and a pitfall. But to the true historical novelist, they are a glory, and what was a weakness becomes a strength. If a writer wishes to 'work up' a period in order to set a story in it, he will feel history a fetter. But if he has

steeped his mind in some past age, and has lived in that age, turning it over and over in his imagination, realising the conditions of affairs and the relationships of men, and pondering over the implications of these, and so recasting the life of the age for himself, then that particular age and those special conditions will suggest their own story, and the historical peculiarities of that age will give point to his novel and will become a power.

The inspiration of the historical novel is not merely history, but also geography. . . . To an architect a building is not merely a dead weight of stone, but a mass of forces striking in differnt directions and brought somehow to a poise ; the whole structure is thrilled with life and in every line of it there is motion. To a historical mind similarly, a building must look different. It has not merely length and breadth and height ; but also a certain 'throughness,' an extension in time ; behind the 'now' of that building there is a long trail of moments of the same building. Time is locked up within scenery and buildings ; and the aim of history is to unlock it and to make it speak its secret. What we call historic sites and buildings represent places in which this secret has in some measure been recovered . . . they are places about which history remembers things.

And if in the historical novel there is devotion to locality and a feeling for the history that breathes through the soil, all this comes out large and most complete where geography and tradition, love of place and pride in its heritage of story, combine in patriotism. The historical novel is often born of a kind of patriotism ; it can scarcely avoid always being the inspiration of it. In this way it becomes itself a power in history, an impulse to fine feeling, and a source of more of the action and heroism which it describes. The historical novel itself becomes a maker of history.

College Notes

REV. W. MESTON returned from furlough and took charge of the Principalship of the College from Dr. Moffat on Monday 2nd March.

WE ARE GLAD TO LEARN that a new club known as the Radio Club has been organised by the Science Department of the College with Dr. Moffat as President. A radio set with accessories has been installed and the Club has already given a few successful demonstrations. There has been a rush for membership, and it is satisfactory to learn that the Club possesses a small library of books and journals dealing with wireless telegraphy and telephony. The office bearers of the Club hope to order a more powerful radio set by July and this will link the Club with Calcutta and other distant places.

ON WEDNESDAY 18TH FEBRUARY the portrait of Dr. and Mrs. Hogg was added to the Caithness Hall portrait gallery which contains a rich collection of portraits of eminent men including several distinguished members of the College staff. Dr. Hogg, as our readers are aware, is now the superintendent of Georgetown hostels of the College and he is ably assisted in his work of supervision by Mrs. Hogg whose unremitting care for the health of the members of the hostel is a matter of general appreciation. The presentation of the portrait was made by the graduates of the year 1923 and the unveiling took place in the presence of a large gathering of students and members of the staff. Dr. Macphail, Vice-Chancellor of the University, presided. In unveiling the portrait Dr. Macphail made a short speech and said that the presentation of the portrait was doubtless a token of the esteem and admiration in which the Hoggs were held by the students. Mr. N. N. Kuttappa, one of the members of the hostel, read a letter from Mr. K. V. Gopalaswamy, one of the donors who is now at Oxford, testifying to the great regard in which the Hoggs were held by him and his fellows. Mr. Cheriyan, the manager of the hostel, accepted the portrait in behalf of the hostel management. Mr. O. Pulla Reddy, Mr. Muthia and Mr. Vasudeva Reddy also spoke. The function was followed by a dinner and it was 9.30 when the party broke up.

DR. MOFFAT, PROFESSOR OF PHYSICS and acting Principal of this College delivered a series of four University lectures on Wireless Telephony in February in the lecture room attached to the Science Department of the College. The lectures were much appreciated and were largely attended by students and members of the staff of the constituent Colleges of the University. There were also present Mr. T.R Venkatarama Sastri, Advocate-General and other leading members of the Madras Bar who followed the lectures with great interest.

THE MILLER MEMORIAL FUND is making slow progress, and, while we should like to see our old boys evincing more interest in its growth, the enthusiasm displayed by students now in College for the Fund is very commendable. When the boys went home for the holidays during the last summer vacation they did their best to collect as much money as possible for the Fund and on Thursday, the 26th February the College Dramatic Society gave a variety performance in its aid in the Victoria Public Hall. It was largely attended and a long programme was given. Scenes from 'Julius Caesar' were much appreciated and the several feats of strength exhibited by M. Kanakadri Row deserve special mention.

FOOTBALL.—The session's football opened, as usual, with the J. R. Henderson Tournament among the classes, and proceeded fairly steadily with some pauses. It came to an end soon after the Michaelmas vacation. Six teams entered, representing the form ordinary classes, the Honours classes, and the High School. The Honours team withdrew after playing two or three games, and another class failed on one occasion for a variety of reasons, to produce a team ; but all the other matches were played. The Fourth Class won. The games were all friendly and sportsmanlike, but unfortunately there was the usual tendency to postpone matches for trivial reasons, such as the absence of one or two players. But teams, it is to be hoped, are learning that no player is indispensable, and that games ought to be played on the dates agreed upon.

When the class-tournament was over, interest in football dropped ; and except for a few informal games with sister Colleges and other teams, there were no more games until the Presidency College Tournament opened. In a College of the size and standing of ours, there ought to be enough enthusiasm to keep practices running regularly.

In the Presidency College "knock-out" tournament,—the only tournament among the Madras Colleges which was held this year,—we passed from the first round by a bye. It was a tournament of many draws. In the semi-final we met with the Law College, drew twice and then won 3—0 ; in the final with the Presidency College, after drawing once, won 1-0. We played keenly and fairly, and probably earned our victory, though in combination our opponents were superior, for we lacked practice. We owe warm thanks to our friends of the Presidency College for organizing the tournament, and for bringing it, in spite of some difficulties, to a conclusion.

During the year G. Venkataswami was captain of football, and Shadrach Paul was secretary. The following players took part in the two final games :—*Goal-keeper*, Kanakadri Rao ; *backs*, Shadrach Paul and Venu ; *half-backs*, N. K. Matthew, P. C. Mathan, M. M. Philip ; *forwards*, D. Y. Hendry, R. Venkatasulu, Md. Jalaludin, Parthasarathi, Kamaraja Pandian, Subbaswami, and M. P. Philips. Venkatasulu, Jalaludin, and Parthasarathi were perhaps the best in quite a good forward line ; Mathan as centre half-back deserves credit for his unfailing hard work ; and Kanakadri Rao in goal always helped the other ten to play more confidently and better, by showing again and again that they might trust him completely.

THE COLLEGE SPORTS were held in the afternoon of Commemoration Day, Friday 23rd January. For most events the entries were good, and there was much running of heats and working through of preliminary rounds during the earlier part of the week. The final results were as follows :—

Putting the Shot—		
S. B. Dorairaj	...	M. Kanakadri Rao
Hundred Yards Dash—		
A. S. Nadder	...	M. Kanakadri Rao
Long Jump—		
D. A. Cole	...	M. Kanakadri Rao / H. B. Phillips
Quarter Mile Run—		
H. B. Phillips	...	T. A. Narasimhulu
High Jump—		
D. A. Cole	...	M. Kanakadri Rao
Hurdles—		
H. B. Phillips	...	Madhava Menon
One Mile Run—		
T. A. Narasimhulu	...	M. D. Kodan
Sack Fight—		
George Kuruvila	...	T. John
Fancy Dress—		
A. I. Jesudasan	...	M. Kanakadri Rao

In the inter-class events, Class I won the Relay Race and Class II the Tug-of-War. On the championship events, the first seven items, in the list above, H. B. Phillips came out on top, with a total of 5 points ; the competition for the championship was very keen, Kanakadri and Cole each coming only one point behind Phillips. The prizes were presented by Mrs. Moffat. Proceedings throughout the whole afternoon were animated by a spirit of enthusiasm and keen rivalry combined with excellent temper lightheartedness.

HOCKEY.—During the first half of the year a number of friendly matches were playedwith the Presidency, Law, and Medical Colleges, and these were greatly enjoyed. The team enteredfor the Presidency tournament in February, and reached the finals after easy victories over Pachayyappas, Presidency College "A" and Kumbakonam College. In the finals a very exciting and closely contested series of games ensued, and only in the third replay were we defeated by two goals to one. In goal Kanakadri was a tour of strength, and it was largely due to his saves that we were not defeated by a bigger margin. At back Ayyanna was very steady, but inclined to ease up a little. Venkateswarlu of the School played a very vigorous game, but not always with sufficient judgement, and he had to mark our old student S. K. Chettur, who was the most dangerous of our opponents. At half in the centre Kuttappa was extremely sound and active, Dorairaj at right-half worked hard but too often was content to clear with tremendous drives, which went out of bounds ! P. R. Subramanian was hard working and resourceful at left half, but was not strong enough to break up the attack and then feed his forwards. Among the forwards

Kallat Johnson and Phillips caught the eye most, though the two latter were inclined to be too individualistic, and did not combine sufficiently. With another year's play, we should have a very good team.

THE COLLEGE COMPANY OF THE U. T. C. have had a good year, standing third so far in the Musketry averages, which are arrived at by dividing the total scored by the College by the number of students who should fire. We had an average of 87, and as 86 is considered a first class the result was very creditable, and would have been better but for several who were content to get seventy. Fifteen of the College took part in the guard of Honor on the last day of the Naval and Military Tournament in January. Among these were five recruits who joined in July 1924, and worked so hard that they were selected for this honor in January. We congratulate them.

A shield was presented to the company at Bangalore Camp last year, by an old boy of the College Mr. S. V. Ramaswamy, and the first to have his name upon it is Sgt. J. B. Dorairaj for the best total at the long range, 119 points. He also had the honour of being Right Marker for the Guard of Honour, and very well indeed did he perform his duties.

As usual there was a certain dropping off of interest among the senior members of the Company who imagine that as soon as their recruits training is over, they have done all that they ought to do. At Camp this year there are to be several tactical schemes, and those who took part in the Battle of the Ridge last year should took forward to some really interesting and profitable field days.

THE DATE OF THE COLLEGE DAY CELEBRATION was this year changed from Christmas to the Pongal holidays. While there are undoubtedly some good reasons for the change, we doubt whether the results altogether justified the departure. The attendance of 'old boys' did not increase appreciably, though the attendance of present students did something to brighten the function and provide a link between past and present. The College Day Committee have been holding several meetings recently to explore this difficult question, and we are confident that the committee which contains some of the ablest sons of South India will find a satisfactory solution to this problem. Time was when it was considered an honour to be invited to the function and a privilege to participate in it. It is difficult to understand the fall in attendance at the celebration now. It cannot be, and we are convinced it is not, apathy. We are prepared to make allowances for the distances of this country, for pre-occupations of 'old boys' in other directions, the increased opportunities that exist in the politically reconstructed India for 'old boys' to meet more often than before, to renew old friendships and exchange greetings. Nevertheless our 'old boys' will do well to remember "that the importance of College Day" as Dr. Skinner points out in his message "has certainly not grown less with the passing of years. I have said nothing of the changes that have taken place in the public life of India since I was in touch with it; and in thus refraining I have no doubt you will approve my caution. But I believe I cannot be wrong if I

say that the present situation even more than the former is such as to call for those qualities of moral earnestness, disinterested public spirit and mutual toleration which you have all inherited in greater or less degree from your College days. The highest purpose of College Day is to give to these ideals the reenforcement that comes from mutual intercourse under the influence of common memories, and thereby to make them an effective force in public life through the agency of the large body of men who assemble year after year in allegiance of them. I say advisedly a *large* body of men. For the object of College Day cannot be achieved unless it is largely attended. But if it is, I see no reason why your annual gathering should not represent a concentration of moral purpose which should go far to work out to their highest solution the many political and social problems which you as public men have to face." Wise words these and our 'old boys' will do well to ponder over them. It is perhaps necessary here to add a note of explanation. The College does not wish to depart from its original attitude towards the College Day celebration. That attitude has always been one of sympathy, but the function itself must necessarily and entirely remain at the hands of the old boys. We have not only derived encouragement in our work by the appreciation of our old boys, but we have always thought that a flourishing Old Boys Association would be a powerful support to the College in all its undertakings.

The proceedings commenced with a lecture on 'Wireless Telephony' by Dr. Moffat which was followed by a business meeting of the College Day Association. An adjournment was then made to the Anderson Hall where the general meeting was held. Dr. Subbarayan, who presided, proposed the toast of the King Emperor. The Chairman then requested Dr. Macphail to unveil the portrait of Mr. Raghava Chetty, a former headmaster of the School department. Dr. Macphail in unveiling the portrait observed that those who were in the school in the closing years of the last century had extremely pleasant memories of Mr. Raghava Chetty who was the headmaster of the primary department. When he (Dr. Macphail) was associated with the work of the school department, he came into close contact with the work of the late Mr. Raghava Chetty and found in him sterling qualities as a headmaster. Mr. Chetty took a deep interest in his students and in the institution and his name has been commemorated in the shape of a prize. In the year in which he came out to India Mr. Venugopala Chetty, the son of the late Mr. Raghava Chetty, took his degree with distinction from the College. Mr. Venugopala Chetty was one of the first Indians to proceed to England to compete for the Indian Civil Service examination.

The Chairman then proposed the toast of the Madras Christian College and said that he considered it a great honour to fill the gap caused by the inability of Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddy to preside over the function that evening. The Madras Christian College was a great institution and played a great part in the development of education in South India. The people of South India owed a great debt of gratitude to Dr. Miller who built up this institution to its present dimensions from a small school and the substantial legacy he left in his will proved the interest he evinced in the welfare and progress of this institution till his end. It was saddening

to think that they were not to receive any more messages from him but they were glad to hear that Dr. Skinner had agreed to send a letter to the College Day Association. The fact that Dr. Macphail, the late Principal of the College was chosen for the Vice-Chancellorship of the reformed Madras University was the greatest tribute that could be paid to the work of the College by the Government. It was also the recognition by the Government of Dr. Macphail's worth and his services to the cause of education in South India and they were all proud of the honour done to the head of the College. The staff of the College was rapidly undergoing change, and he was not well acquainted with the new members of the staff. But he was aware that the new members of the staff were worthily following the traditions of the College and the example set by Dr. Miller and Dr. Skinner. It gave him great pleasure to think that Mr. Corley was still with them. He learnt to appreciate the New Testament from Mr. Corley whose extraordinarily lucid and brilliant lectures on New Testament were still fresh in his mind, and he (the speaker) had remained an appreciative student of the Gospels ever since.

Mr. Campbell in responding to the toast said that the College held an important place in the City, in the Presidency and in India. It was extremely difficult for an individual like himself to express what the College meant; for it was much more than what any individual could express—something which could not be expressed but could only be felt. The College set out with an ideal from the very beginning and its aim had been the very best and the highest. The Scripture class was of first importance in the training of character and the acquisition of the highest ideals. They had all been accustomed to hear criticisms of courses of study which obtained in the College and the University. It was the easiest thing to make destructive criticisms; but the primary concern was not with the courses of study. The spirit in which instruction was given and the way in which the teacher and the taught were related to each other were all important. They had all heard of the part played by Dr. Miller in the building up of the educational system of South India. In the College they sought not only to instruct the minds of the students but also to train their characters and build them on a foundation that would last throughout their life time. Their ideal was to give to their students the very best and the very highest, and their firm conviction was that they could give the very best and the highest by means of a Christian education. They had learnt their highest ideals through Jesus Christ, and Scripture was the root and inspiration of all their work. Since he came to India he had noticed that emphasis was laid on the personal relationship of the teacher and the taught which was a distinct feature of the College. The College was an Arts College with a religious, Christian, basis and they endeavoured to impart education in the broadest sense imaginable. Wherever they went in South India they could easily recognise a Christian College man who continued to love his old College. In the Christian College they had all the advantages of a small university without its disadvantages. In conclusion Mr. Campbell reminded the audience of their debt of gratitude to their *Alma Mater* and appealed to them to think well of the College and to speak well of the College. They could do more. They could endow prizes

and thus relieve the strain on the College finances. They could subscribe to the Cooper Fund and the Miller Memorial Fund which were badly in need of help.

Rao Bahadur O. Kandaswamy Chetty proposed the toast of Dr. Skinner and other retired professors and said that he owed the honour of proposing that toast to the fact of his having recently visited the native land of Dr. Skinner and other retired professors.

The first old professor he met was one whom the oldest amongst us will remember—Rev. George Patterson. He was the first Englishman to join a staff till then wholly Scotch in its personnel. He joined the College in 1876 as the representative of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Appointed as Professor of History, Mr. Patterson was ready to teach any subject, Scripture, English, Chemistry, Botany, etc.—except perhaps Mathematics. His versatility, his fluency as a speaker and his readiness as a writer pointed him out when the MADRAS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE was started in July 1883 as the fittest person to wield the editorial pen. As Editor of the first Monthly Magazine in South India, he served out to educated Indians, month after month, fresh food for serious thought—both stimulating and nourishing. He stuck to the motto of the Magazine,

> "They are fools who dare not be
> In the right with two or three",

in dealing with subjects which required in the handling tact and boldness in the interests of truth and righteousness. Mr. Chetty found him in London guiding the activities of the Christian Literary Society for India and Africa. He retired from active service in the College in 1890, but his interest in the work of the College has been maintained through his connection with it ever since as a member of the Governing Board of the College. Mr. Kandaswamy Chetty then visited Dr. Pittendrigh and Dr. Skinner. Dr. Pittendrigh is now Secretary to the Secondary School Board. This is his main work, but there is no committee or organisation in which work of an educational, social or religious nature is done in whose proceedings Dr. Pittendrigh does not take an active part. The same thing cannot however be said of Dr. Skinner who seems to think that his lifework is done : a view in which his friends find it difficult to acquiesce seeing that so much of talent and ripe wisdom is lying unused. He once acted for a short time for a Professor in the Aberdeen University when his lectures were so much appreciated that, when he was relieved from duty, the students followed him to his residence and continued coming to him for tuition. Dr. Skinner spends most of his time in reading. Mr. Kandaswamy Chetty found him studying among other books an Italian novel with the help of a dictionary. His favourite recreation is to work in the garden behind his house and facing the window of his study. His favourite companion is Dr. Hector, Dr. Pittendrigh's brother-in-law, once Principal of Duff College, Calcutta. Mr. Chetty attended Sunday service with him at the church where he worships. The sermon was a kind of divine 'gossip' in the most literal sense of the word, in which literature was effectively pressed into the service of religion. Dr. Skinner's life has always been more subjective than objective. It is now even more so. He keeps in touch, however, with Madras through the weekly edition of a Madras

journal, but his interest in this College is maintained by his close contact with its affairs as a member of the Governing Board in which his wisdom and experience are freely drawn upon. In speaking of Dr. Skinner at home it is imposible not to think of Mrs. Skinner whose homely kindliness and quiet activity are well known to students and others connected with the College who went to College Park when they were in Madras. If Dr. Skinner appeared stern and reserved,—Mrs. Skinner was gentle and motherly. It was a privilege to live under their roof in Aberdeen and he would always cherish the memory of the days he spent with them there. In Dr. Pittendrigh's house, the most interesting figure to him was his daughter—his only child. She is a picture of her mother, so well known and so dearly loved as Miss Falconer, the pioneer of higher home education among Madras women. She is studying for the B.Sc. degree in the Aberdeen University and though of a delicate constitution—the fact is that she studies hard—she is captain of a hockey team in her College. Dr. Skinner's daughter Janet is married to a solicitor in Edinburgh, his son David is in the medical profession and acting as assistant physician in a hospital not far from Aberdeen, and his daughter Margaret is a graduate teacher in Kent.

Mr. Kandaswamy Chetty then proceeded to give an account of his visit to Thurso, Dr. Miller's native place and said :—" It was a pleasure to be welcomed here by Dr. Miller's relatives Mrs. Cran and Mr. John Miller, Junior. Thurso is a quiet town where there is none of the stir and bustle of western cities and Scrabster itself is at some distance from the town overlooking the undulating farms of the family estate on one side and the sea on the other. Miss Miller took me to the spot on the high wall near the sea shore where Dr. Miller used to stand and gaze at the Northern Sea on the other side of which was the home of his Scandinavian forefathers, and where I imagine occurred to him the Musings of a Student at the Sea Shore published as a poem in the Christian College Magazine under the *nom de plume*, L.L. I shall always cherish the gift of Dr. Miller's Copy of his favourite poem William Morris' *Sigurd the Volsung* which Mrs. Cran made to me as a remembrancer of my visit to Scrabster. I was also taken round to the public institutions of the place including a school and a public library, gifts of the Miller family. Another interesting object was the old house in Barrack Street in which the family lived before Scrabster was built. I saw the room in which Dr. Miller was born and the adjoining sitting room in which he studied as a boy. In the dining hall in Scrabster there is a painting of Dr. Miller and his brother Alexander as boys sitting at a table and reading their lessons. The last place I visited in Thurso was the place where lie the bones of him who has most powerfully contributed to make this College what it is and to make you and me what we are. It was a solemn evening when Miss Miller and myself went to the high ground on which, surrounded on the one side by the downs on which Dr. Miller used to wander as a young man, is the cemetry containing the family vault. Near by flows the small river Thurso, deep and rolling rapidly to the sea whose roar one could hear across the town in the stillness of the night. The raising of a monument on the spot where the bones of our master are interred is postponed pending the

question of extending the cemetry by putting back the boundary wall adjoining the grave."

Mr. Kandaswamy Chetty saw Dr. J. R. Henderson who cherished kindly rememberances of his former students and followed Indian affairs with keen interest. From him he learnt somewhat about Dr. Miller as he was nearing the end in Edinburgh, where Dr. Henderson used to visit him frequently so as to be able to comfort him in his sense of loneliness and of detachment from the current of affairs. One could not help sharing in the shock which Dr. Henderson said he felt when after a few days absence from the city he called in the usual course at Dr. Miller's lodgings in Belgrave Crescent on the morning of Monday the 16th July 1922 only to be told by the housekeeper that the Doctor had breathed his last the previous day. So suddden was the end and so few and faint the premonitory signs which could be observed by friends.

Mr. Kandaswamy Chetty continued :—"Another retired professor whom I visited was Mr. S. J. Crawford, now Professor of English Literature in Southampton University College. It was a pleasure to spend a week end with one with whom I had been in close contact in connection with the Rungiah Chetty Hostel and the College Magazine. He is still the same humane pundit that he was in Madras, an epitome of learning and a flower of culture. His Christian feeling is now finding an application to problems of international relationship. It was a happy sight to see him surrounded by his family and his lady students. One great service which Mr. Crawford did for me was to write to his sister-in-law Mrs. Corley at Witney to arrange to take me to Oxford. Mrs. Corley was delighted at the idea and no sooner did I go back to London than I received an invitation to Witney. The day I spent with Mrs. Corley in Oxford was a day of intellectual and spiritual exaltation. I was introduced to a world of life in which happiness and work were combined and the religious spirit and intellectual culture were welded together. Mrs. Corley moved quite freely among the Colleges and gardens, the churches and playgrounds and the walks and river banks, as to the manner born. She seemed to know all about Oxford ; and its spirit of refined cheerfulness had evidently taken hold of her. She knows a good many Indian students at Oxford and none of our own students is outside the circle of her friendly interest. It is no doubt an advantage to our students to have Mr. Corley at this end and Mrs. Corley at that end to interpret the spirit of Oxford to them. But what about the separation involved ? I think it is one of the sacrifices which some of our professors are making, which is not sufficiently recognised by us. Of course, my own ideal professor is one who has beside him one to share his labours—like Dr. Hogg who does all the abstract thinking for his classes, with Mrs. Hogg who does all the feeling and the doing for him in the hostels. But children's education is a consideration which cannot be easily laid aside, a consideration which imparts an element of pathos to the life of some of our men. I happen to know how much Dr. and Mrs. Skinner, when they were here, felt the separation from their children at home."

Mr. Kandaswamy Chetty concluded with an appeal to organise an Association which should spread in England, America and Continental countries a knowledge

of the college, its aims and its work and secure for it the wherewithal for the work of peace and good will which it is carrying on from day to day.

In reply to the toast the following letter from Dr. Skinner was read by Mr. Subramaniam :—

22, GLADSTONE PLACE,
ABERDEEN,
November 7, 1924.

To The Former Students of the Madras Christian College,
assembled on College Day, 1925.

Gentlemen,

I recently had the pleasure of a visit here from Mr. O. Kandaswami Chetty. He told me that he was sure to be asked to propose the toast of the retired professors at the College Day gathering this year ; and he hinted, or rather he said somewhat plainly, that it was my duty to send a communication in reply to the toast. I feel that an injunction from such a quarter cannot be lightly disregarded. At the same time the idea of replying to a toast rather alarms me, and I am afraid I must be content with something considerably less ambitious.

I do not know what my colleagues in retirement would like me to say on their behalf. But I think I may safely say that they all look back with pleasure to the days they spent among you, and with many grateful memories of the sympathy, trust and friendship you accorded to them in their work. Their best wishes are with you on the occasion of your annual College Day celebration. Some of them, Dr. Alexander for example and Mr. George Patterson, had retired before College Day was instituted. But they all know what it means in the life of the College ; and gathered together as you will be to express your abiding indebtedness to the influences that surrounded you in your College days, I thank you on their behalf for the kind remembrance which has led you to include in the programme of your meeting the toast which I believe will be proposed by Mr. O. Kandaswami Chetty.

Something of this sort is certainly what I should like to say for myself. I can never forget, I never do forget, the unbounded kindness I have so often received at your hands. The tokens of it are around me as I write, and all my remembrance of you is filled with a sense of gratitude for that generous loyalty of yours which, in spite of all my shortcomings, never failed me throughout the long course of my work amongst you. I wish I could more adequately express my feelings.

Since I left Madras five years ago, there have been many changes in the life of the College. There must be an all but complete change in the student constituency ; and if I were writing to the present students, I should not know whom I was addressing. But I am writing to former students whom I knew, and with whom I have memories of College life in common. They have noted, as I have noted, the great change in the staff of the College that has taken place in these five years ; and to them as to me it must be a satisfaction to see that the College can still command the services of some of the most distinguished of its own *alumni*, as well as those of able men from this country and America. But there have been losses. Five years

ago Dr. Macphail was Principal of the College. Now he is Vice-Chancellor of the University, to the immense gain of the University, but to the College something very different. There is also the painful blank caused by the resignation of Mr. Macartney. A more loveable, more devoted, more single-minded man, the College never had in its service ; and both as a supreme teacher of English Literature, and as a moral and religious influence in the College he will be long and sadly missed. I feel sure that on College Day the thoughts of his old colleagues and students will go out to him with an altogether peculiar feeling of sympathy, affection and esteem.

A glance at the latest College Calendar shows that there have been loosses also in the Indian staff. But one is glad to see there still the names of such old friends as Mr. Muliyil and Mr. J. P. Manikkam, both of them now Professors, as well as of others still in their old posts, among them, very specially, my old henchman Mr. T. N. Cunnooswami.

Mr. O. Kandaswami Chetty told me when he was here that his connection with the College as a member of the staff would soon cease. It is difficult to think of the College without Mr. O. Kandaswami Chetty. But there is this consolation, that though his official connection with the College may come to an end, his interest in it will endure, and find expression in active work for its welfare, in friendship with its students and in a worthy representation of its ideals in word and in deed. His recently published life of Dr. Miller is a gift for which, I am sure, all former students must feel indebted to him.

I am writing to you as assembled in celebration of College Day. You all know the interest Dr. Miller took in the celebration, and the importance he attached to it as a means of keeping alive in the minds of former students the ideals of life and duty of which they felt the power in their College days. In this respect the importance of College day has certainly not grown less with the passing of the years. I have said nothing of the changes that have taken place in the public life of India since I was in touch with it ; and in thus refraining I have no doubt you will approve my caution But I believe I cannot be wrong if I say that the present situation even more than the former is such as to call for those qualities of moral earnestness, disinterested public spirit and mutual toleration which you have all inherited in greater or less degree from your College days. The highest purpose of College Day is to give to these ideals the reinforcement that comes from mutual intercourse under the influence of common memories, and thereby to make them an effective force in public life through the agency of the large body of men who assemble year by year in allegiance of them. I say advisedly a *large* body of men. For the object of College Day cannot be achieved unless it is largely attended. But if it is, I see no reason why your annual gathering should not represent a concentration of moral purpose which should go far to work out to their highest solution the many political and social problems which you as public men have to face. College day does not present the attractions of many of the public gatherings which at the same time of the year compete with it for your suffrages. But I am not sure that as a factor in the life of South India it may not have an importance equal to that of any of them.

In the name of the retired professors of the College, therefore, I ask you to accept our greetings, and our best wishes for the success of your College gathering this year; and with a special word of greeting to the President of the College Day Association, to the Vice-President, Secretaries and Treasurer, and to the members of the Managing Committee.

I remain,
Gentlemen,
Ever yours in grateful remembrance,
WILLIAM SKINNER.

Mr. Alladi Krishnaswamy Aiyar then proposed the toast of the students of the College and said that if there was one College in South India fitted to train South Indian students for public life it was the Madras Christian College which had an atmosphere of freedom about it. Although he differed from the professors of the College on several occasions on educational questions they loved him none the less. The College societies played a large part in the intellectual training of students and the old Vedic ideal of the relations between the teacher and the taught found its true expression in the College.

Mr. Chandramouli, one of the senior student of the College, in acknowledging the toast emphasised the great benefit they derived by undergoing training in the College.

The function came to a close with a vote of thanks proposed by Mr. Satyamurthi to the Chairman.

THE RESIGNATION OF RAO BAHADUR O. KANDASWAMI CHETTY which took effect in December on the termination of a year's leave preparatory to retirement, severs a connexion with the teaching staff which has lasted since 1891. As every reader of his recently published biography of Dr. Miller will readily recognise, Mr. Kandaswamy in a notable degree, made his own the principles which animated Dr. Miller's life. As Dr. Miller's private secretary and subsequently, for many years, as lecturer in English, he devoted his talents unreservedly to furthering the aims for which Dr. Miller laboured. A man of broad views and catholic sympathies, Mr. Kandaswami has exercised a potent and healthy influence on generations of students. If today there is that widespread feeling that the time is past for maintaining hostels reserved for particular castes to which the College Council made reference in the last report, this result must be due, in very considerable measure, to Mr. Kandaswami's work and influence as Manager of Caithness Hall, of the Mountain Home at Yercaud and of the Rangiah Chetty Hostel. The same is true of the movement for social reform, and, in particular for the uplift of the depressed classes. Mr. Kandaswamy's pioneering work as one of the founders of the Hindu Social Reform Association and his earnest and eloquent appeals on behalf of the outcaste in the *Social Reform Advocate* did a great deal to educate the public mind and make possible the sympathetic attitude towards them which now prevails. Mr. Kandaswamy has thus been prominent not only as a College teacher but as a citizen, the effectiveness of his contribution to the causes which he served by speech and pen being

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